DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 480 231 HE 036 243

| | |
|---|---|
| AUTHOR | Samoff, Joel; Carrol, Bidemi |
| TITLE | Continuities of Dependence: External Support to Higher Education in Africa. |
| PUB DATE | 2003-03-07 |
| NOTE | 62p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Comparative and International Studies Association (New Orleans, LA, March 12-15, 2003). |
| PUB TYPE | Information Analyses (070) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150) |
| EDRS PRICE | EDRS Price MF01/PC03 Plus Postage. |
| DESCRIPTORS | *Colleges; *Curriculum Development; *Economic Factors; *Educational Finance; Educational History; *Financial Support; Foreign Countries; *Higher Education |
| IDENTIFIERS | *Africa |

ABSTRACT

This discussion of external support for higher education in Africa focuses on the academic partnerships that link U.S. and African institutions. The exploration begins with a brief historical overview that links the evolution of higher education in Africa with changing patterns and forms of external support and influence. It then discusses the forms and characteristics of academic partnerships. Little systematic research has been done, but insights are drawn from a variety of perspectives. The modern history of African universities began with dependence, formally institutionalized in the links between European universities and subordinate institutions in Africa. Dependence seemed to lessen in the excitement of the immediate postcolonial period, and initiatives in Africa captured the attention and admiration of scholars around the world. Dynamic debates were increasingly African-focused, and decreasingly driven by the disciplines and discourses of overseas counterparts. However, just as economic and financial crises threatened national development plans and constrained national courses of action, so too did they reinforce external direction within higher education. Universities found that access to rapidly declining funds was dependent on reorganization according to externally set priorities and agendas. At a deep level, external influences on the intellectual structure and priorities of African universities continue to be profound, and often unrecognized. In immediate and practical terms, external influences are directly visible in the increasing use of curriculum developed and packaged overseas. Partnerships face the challenge of deciding whether to be part of the continuities of dependence or whether to address the problem actively. Six appendixes contain supplemental information, including the cases studies of some partnerships between U.S. and African universities. (Contains 4 tables and 84 references.) (SLD)

Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made
from the original document.

ED 480 231

# CONTINUITIES OF DEPENDENCE:

# EXTERNAL SUPPORT TO HIGHER EDUCATION IN AFRICA

Joel Samoff and Bidemi Carrol
*Stanford University*

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
J. Samoff
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

1

*Prepared for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Comparative and International Studies Association New Orleans, 12–15 March 2003*

7 March 2003

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# Continuities of Dependence: External Support to Higher Education in Africa[1]

**Joel Samoff and Bidemi Carrol**

## Education is the Future, but Crisis is the Present

Education is the future.

Throughout Africa the end of white rule was accompanied a powerful faith in education. The legacies of colonial rule were harsh and dispiriting. For most countries, illiteracy was high, few people had access to colonial schools, and fewer still had reached higher education. Liberation promised expanded access, better jobs, a higher standard of living, and development for the community more generally. Education was also to be the vehicle for achieving social and political goals: developing a sense of national unity and common direction, nurturing individual and collective self-confidence and self-reliance, and reducing societal inequalities.

As the capstone of the education system, higher education had a special place in that vision. Universities were to educate the thinkers and inventers, the policy and decision makers, the teachers of the teachers, the leaders of the leaders.

The initial progress was promising. Enrollments expanded rapidly. Post-secondary institutions proliferated. Colleges were created to prepare professionals, especially in education, agriculture, and nursing. Research institutes, professional associations, and regional institutions, both governmental and non-governmental, emerged. Post-secondary distance education started slowly and then in some countries blossomed. Most recently, programs that rely on the internet and electronic mail have become attractive and more affordable.

Yet, for most of Africa that progress was not sustained. Deteriorating economic conditions, pressure from external funders and internal constituencies to reduce costs and redirect resources to basic education, and leaders' perception that university communities were more a political threat than a development engine combined to undermine higher education. In many countries staff salaries stagnated or declined, requiring second jobs and increasing the attraction of overseas opportunities. Book purchases, journal subscriptions, laboratory equipment, facilities maintenance, and research support also suffered.

By the 1980s, the general assessment was that the deterioration of higher education in Africa had become a crisis.

> By 1990, Makerere exhibited in extreme form the resource constraints facing universities throughout Africa. No new physical structures had been built and no maintenance carried out in twenty years. Journal subscriptions had declined to zero, as had chemicals for science laboratories. Supplies of electricity and water were spasmodic, cooking and sewage facilities were stretched to their limit. Faculty members received the equivalent of $10 per month and were forced by this so called "leaving" wage to depart the country or seek any available paid employment for most of their day. Student numbers remained low, the government subsidy small and research out put minimal. A "pillage" or survival culture prevailed which put at risk to private theft any saleable and removable item, from computers and telephones to electric wires and door fixtures—and sometimes the doors themselves! In a situation of limited transport, few if any working telephones and the absence of needed equipment and stationery, it is remarkable that university managed to remain open throughout this period.[2]

---

1. We develop here a revisal and abbreviated version of the more extensive study presented at the 2002 Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association: (Samoff and Carrol, Promise of Partnership 2002).

2. (Court, Financing Higher Education in Africa 2000), p. 3. Court cites M. Hyuha, "Private Sponsorship and Other Cost Sharing Measures and the Sustainability of Makerere University," unpublished manuscript, 1998.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Notwithstanding imaginative responses to crisis and rsourceful resilience, there seemed to be no end is in sight for the decay and disarray. The most recent economic prospects are not reassuring. Even with the most optimistic view about education's role in development, higher education is likely to continue to suffer severe resource constraints.

## The Evolution of External Support to Higher Education in Africa

We are concerned here with external support to higher education in Africa, with particular attention to academic partnerships that link U.S. and African institutions. Academic partnerships are one of the many modes of relationship between the U.S. and Africa and must be understood as such. As well, academic partnerships have been and continue to be rooted in the assumptions, understandings, and practices of foreign aid and must be understood in those terms as well.

*Partnership* its itself an elusive target. Today, everything is a partnership. Aid is a partnership. Technical assistance is a partnership. Faculty and student exchanges are partnerships. Developing and selling curriculum and instructional materials are a partnership. Even the tutelage and apprenticeship arrangements that were the norm decades ago are now re-labeled partnerships. Notwithstanding this widespread conversion to the partnership faith, systematic studies of partnership are few. While those involved periodically report on their activities and occasionally commission evaluations, careful and documented analyses of academic partnerships are nearly non-existent. There are no central registers or comprehensive lists of academic partnerships. Even within particular institutions it is frequently difficult to develop a clear picture of partnership activities.

Our task here is to survey that terrain. The state of the literature requires that we be self-consciously eclectic and empirically selective. Our goal is an informed discussion paper that can provide the foundation for frank debates about the merits, modes, and pitfalls of partnership. Convinced of their value, we highlight both the promise of academic partnerships and the problems that stand in their way.

For that survey it is important to start with the broader context of academic partnerships and to review the evolution of external support to those institutions, including their origins in the colonial relationship. Since external support, including many academic partnerships, is rooted in and heavily influenced by foreign aid, we must enter that domain as well.[1]

We begin with a brief historical overview, seeking to link the evolution of higher education in Africa with changing patterns and forms of external support and influence, both direct and indirect. That leads us to academic partnerships of many forms and diverse characteristics. While a detailed catalogue is beyond the scope of this paper, we review this context and we chart directions and trends. We conclude by addressing the challenges of partnership, both hopes and expectations and frustrations and problems. References and appendices provide additional details.

As we proceed, we must navigate among the many meanings attached to key constructs like "higher education" and "partnership." To survey the terrain we generally employ inclusive specifications. For that, we include in higher education all institutional programs that require successful completion of secondary education for entrance and that grant to their graduates a recognized degree, diploma, or similar certification. At the outset, we take as partnership whatever those involved choose to term a partnership. To focus attention as we proceed, we narrow our working definitions. Notwithstanding the proliferation of post-secondary award-

1. For additional detail, see our longer study noted above. See as well the parallel study (Sawyerr, Challenges Facing Higher Education 2002).

granting programs, the core higher education institutions and the focus of most higher education development efforts are universities. Amidst the many activities labeled partnership those that seem to us to hold the most promise for the sustainable development of higher education in Africa are that involve direct interaction and collaboration between higher education institutions. Accordingly, for our discussion of academic partnerships will concentrate on links between universities. External support too has broader and narrower meanings. While most of the discussion focuses on funding of various sorts, external support can also include technical asssistance, exchanges, the provision of expertise, certification, and legitimation, and more. On this, we have sought to highlight funding and at the same time remain attentive to the ideas, values, understandings, expectations, and conditions that commonly accompany that funding.

As we developed this review, to our surprise we found that we were pursuing topics, themes, and practices on which there has been very little systematic research. Students of Africa apparently regard partnerships as minor modalities that are not very significant in their own right. Studies of foreign aid and international relations rarely descend to that level of detail. But in our view, external support to higher education in Africa in general and partnerships n particular can and do play a prominent role in the perpetuation of dependence and through the dependence of higher education, in the perpetuation of poverty in Africa. No more in Africa than in the U.S. are universities ivory towers distant from the "real world." They are of the real world and in important ways they and those they influence help to shape it.

What then are the appropriate analytic frameworks for studying external support to higher education in Africa? For this paper we have employed several. Self-consciously eclectic, we have drawn here on the insights and theories of students of networks (both institutional and social, including the recent attention to social capital), organizational behavior (explanations for the forms and durability of partnerships), political economy (the intersections of the organization of production, structures of power, and patterns of social stratification), resource dependence (institutions dependent on external funding tend to act in ways that reflect the norms and expectations of those providing the funding), diffusion of innovation (multi-step flows and the simultaneous appearance in distant settings of similar ideas), underdevelopment and dependence (the ways in which the ideas of particular groups become the prevailing ideas in much broader arenas), internationalization and globalization (continuities of patterns and interactions from the colonial era to the present), foreign aid (national interests and the ways in which subordinate and dependent governments influence the behavior of the more powerful), and knowledge management (claims about the impacts and significance of new technologies and communications). Even as we have employed multiple tools, we have regularly reconfirmed the analytic importance of understanding external support to higher education in Africa in the context of the foreign aid relationship.

## Context for the Development of Higher Education in Africa

### From the Optimism of Independence through Structural Adjustment to Revitalization

Although Africa boasts a tradition of indigenous and Islamic higher education institutions that predate western colonization, the roots of nearly all of the modern higher education institutions in Africa can be traced back to the colonial period. From the start, modern higher education institutions in Africa were developed with external support from a number of different sources. Initially, this support came from religious entities like churches and philanthropic organizations, and later from colonial governments. Over the years since independence, other nations, international organizations, foreign higher education institutions, private foundations, and others have all provided support to African higher education.

This external support has been of varying forms and significance, often following global, regional, and national political and socio-economic trends. Indeed, higher education itself has survived through changing political and socioeconomic contexts, both local and global. From the optimism of the independence era through the dark days of the global economic crisis and structural adjustment, past the ambivalence toward higher education, and emerging into an era of renewed interest and transformation, higher education in Africa endures.

## Colonial Origins

Education was one tool colonial governments used to control social change.[4] As early as 1816, the Church Missionary Society (CMS) established a Christian institution in Sierra Leone for the training of clergy, which in 1827 became Fourah Bay College, the first institution of higher learning in sub-Saharan Africa.[5] But many were critical of the narrow religious education provided by the CMS, and a public debate on the need for an African university ensued in the late 19th century. This debate was spurred by some of the educated elites in Freetown, such as Africanus Horton, who had benefitted from the education provided by FBC, and other educated blacks like Edward Blyden.[6] Horton envisioned a publicly financed African university that would emphasize the science and technology,[7] while Blyden was in favor of a liberal education that would liberate the African mind and promote race consciousness.[8]

The CMS authorities were not in favor of a secular institution, but ultimately decided to open FBC to private students as long as the institution retained its religious character. In 1876, in an attempt to secularize the curriculum, the first formal link an African higher education institution and a foreign university were created, as FBC became affiliated with the University of Durham. In this relationship, the University of Durham developed the curriculum and awarded degrees to students, in an arrangement that was very different from the idea of the African university proposed by Blyden and his colleagues.

It was not until after the First World War that colonial governments started to develop official policies for the provision of higher education in Africa. British policy on higher education in the colonies was elaborated in the report of the Asquith Commission, published in 1945,[9] but many of the ideas in that report had been proposed initially by a subcommittee on higher education in Africa, headed by Sir James Currie.[10] The Asquith framework called for a relationship between the Inter-University Council, the University of London, and the African institutions. The University of London appointed academic staff, approved syllabi and examinations, and awarded the degrees,[11] in an arrangement very similar to that between FBC and Durham. The first African institutions included in this relationship, collectively called the "Asquith Colleges," were Gordon College, Khartoum (1946); University College, Ibadan (1947); University College of the Gold Coast; University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and Makerere College (1949).

---

4. (Ajayi, Goma, et al. 1996), p. 28.

5. (Ajayi, Goma, et al. 1996), p. 16-18.

6. Blyden was born in Surname (Dutch West Indies) and educated in Liberia. He later became a professor of classical languages at Liberia College. ((Ajayi, Goma, et al. 1996), p.18).

7. (Ajayi, Goma, et al. 1996), p. 17.

8. (Blyden 1872). Letter from E. W. Blyden to Governor Hennessy, Freetown December 6, 1872. Reproduced in full in (Ashby & Anderson 1966), pp. 451-452.

9. Among the comprehensive studies on the effects of British colonial policy on higher education in Africa are (Maxwell 1980); (Ashby & Anderson 1966); (Ashby 1964); and (Nwauwa 1993).

10. (Ashby & Anderson 1966).

11. (Mazrui 1975), reprinted in (Altbach and Kelly 1978), pp. 331-352.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Similar to the British colonies, French colonial education was provided primarily by missionaries until after the turn of the 20th century.[12] Despite African demands for educational parity with France, it was only after World War II that African pressure had an influence in education policy in French colonies.[13] The French government granted scholarships to Africans to study at French universities.[14] Institutes of higher learning were established in Africa itself, including The Institute for Higher Studies in Tunis (1945), Dakar (1950) and Tananarive (1955). These institutes were upgraded to university status starting around 1957, beginning with Dakar. They were governed by French university statutes, and the staff members were accorded the rights of French academics.[15] Like the Asquith Colleges, the institutions in French colonial Africa, were linked to French universities that set the curriculum and awarded degrees. Even though in principle the colleges were allowed some flexibility to revise the curriculum, the rigidity of the degree structure generally made that difficult.[16]

Belgian colonial policy on education differed from that of the British and the French in that it concentrated almost exclusively on primary and technical education and was largely influenced by the Catholic Church.[17] For higher education, the Catholic hierarchy opened the Louvanium University Center in the Congo, under the sponsorship of the Louvain University, Belgium. Like the universities in Francophone Africa, Louvanium was designed to follow Louvain in curriculum, standards, and in its constitution. At the same time, the commitment to a practical education and the need for missionaries familiar with local culture combined to create a larger space for the study of African languages and culture.[18]

US support to higher education in Africa during the colonial era was limited, because each colonial power had strong interest in education policy in its own colonies. There were limited initiatives by private foundations such as the Carnegie Corporation of New York, Rockefeller Foundation, and the Phelps-Stokes Fund. The Phelps-Stokes Fund was influential in the spread of the Tuskegee philosophy of black education in Africa. One strategy for spreading this philosophy was to provide fellowships for a selected group of Africans to study in the US.[19] Much of the support for this program came from the Carnegie Corporation. The Rockefeller Foundation also provided awards for study in the US as early as 1917.

Despite the subtle differences in philosophy and mission of the different colonial powers, the end results were the same. African institutions adhered to European university standards through the control of curriculum and teaching staff by colonial authorities or religious institutions acting in partnership with metropolitan universities. The link between the University of Durham and FBC, while important, was not a mutual effort among cooperating institutions seeking to achieve shared goals. Rather than external support, this was a situation of external control of African higher education. Although African institutions in principle were to adhere to European standards, they were never the same as European institutions. As Kelly and Altbach have argued, educational institutions in Africa were always a partial or defective copy of the metropolitan original.[20] Notwithstanding the rhetoric, African institutions were never intended to

---

12. (Yansane 1985), p. 348. Note that the research literature on external support to higher education in Francophone Africa is more limited. More important, since our core concern is with partnerships between U.S. and African universities, and since most of those partnerships involve Anglophone institutions, our primary focus in this discussion is the experiences of higher education in Anglophone Africa.

13. (Gifford & Weisskel 1971), p. 694.

14. (Gardiner 1985), p.141.

15. (Ajayi, Goma, et al. 1996).

16. (Maxwell 1980), p. 36.

17. (Ajayi 1988).

18. (Mazrui 1975).

19. (Berman 1984), p.258.

20. (Altbach and Kelly 1978), Introduction.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

be the equals of metropolitan institutions. Their main purpose was to control and shape social change in the colonies.[21]

### *Independence Era Optimism (1950s–1960s)*

The 1950s and 1960s were periods of rapid change on the African continent. Many African countries gained their political independence, starting with Ghana in 1957. These circumstances provided a new context for higher education in Africa. A major concern of newly independent countries was the replacement of foreigners in the civil service by qualified Africans. Another was the expansion of the economic sector. Both of these concerns led to an increase in the demand for higher education, and governments made substantial allocations to higher education because they were expected to contribute to the national development effort.[22]

This period was also marked by an opening of the higher education policy arena to the wider international community, not limited to the former colonial powers.[23] Indicative of this interest is the number of international conferences on education: Khartoum, 1960; Addis Ababa, 1961; and Tananarive, 1962; and Accra, 1972. The Tananarive conference, organized by UNESCO, focused on the role of higher education in Africa, and reflected a broader sense of the mission for African universities, which focused on the role of universities in national development, and marked the rise of the notion of the "developmental university" in Africa.[24] President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, was perhaps one of the most ardent and articulate supporters of the idea of the developmental university.

> I believe that a University in a developing society must put the emphasis of its work on subjects of immediate moment to the nation in which it exists, and it must be committed to the people of that nation and their humanistic goals. This is central to its existence; and it is this fact which justifies the heavy expenditure of resources on this one aspect of national life and development.
> Its research, and the energies of its staff in particular, must be freely offered to the community, and they must be relevant.[25]

Nyerere's notion of the developmental university required a curriculum organized around learning that could be immediately and productively applied.[26] However, it is important to note here a tension in the expectations for Africa's universities, which in part may have fueled the transformation of their mission. Many of these universities, especially those affiliated with elite British institutions began with a liberal arts orientation. However, with the end of colonial rule, the new leadership increasing charged higher education with the development of high level skills, particularly for the civil service.

This notion of higher education's role in national development, was one that had widespread international support. Large-scale projects aimed at building new institutions in the new African countries were the norm. One such project was the University Development Program/Education for Development (UDP/EFD) funded by Rockefeller Foundation. In Africa, the UDP/EFD program targeted a few universities— University of Ibadan, University of East Africa (UEA), the University of Khartoum, and the Université Nationale de Zaire.

---

21. (Gifford & Weiskel 1971).

22. (Yesufu 1973).

23. Indicative of this interest is the number of international conferences on education: Khartoum, 1960; Addis Ababa, 1961; and Tananarive, 1962.

24. (Coleman 1984).

25. (Nyerere 1967), p. 3.

26. (Hydén 1975); (Smith 1973).



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The UEA project was the second largest in the entire program,[27] and after UEA's breakup, Rockefeller had immense influence in the development of the three independent East African universities, especially in the area of staff development in the social sciences.

> The foundation was the largest single donor in the process of creating the first generation of the East African professorate. After a decade, approximately 60% of all of the East African academic staff of the three universities had, at one stage or another, support from the Foundation for their advanced professorial training, and among the top stratum of East African academic leaders the proportion was over 80%.[28]

Though ambitious and large, the UDP/EFD project was not atypical for the partnership activities during this period. The other major supporters of education in Africa, and developing countries in general, all contributed significantly to higher education institution building. Coleman and Court explain:

> During the period 1952 to 1980 AID allocated roughly $1 billion to the development of 117 Third World Universities, some being supported extensively, some marginally. The peak year was 1965, in which 74 universities in 31 countries were aided through contracts with 72 U.S. universities for a total cost of $122 million in that year alone – a figure roughly equal to the two-decade cost of the Rockefeller Foundation's UDP/EFD program.[29]

Compared to other levels of education, the largest proportion of external support from the national agencies of Britain, France, and U.S. went to higher education. For example, between 1971–1976 professional and higher education (including teacher training) received about 52% of USAID assistance to education in Africa.[30] Similarly, 40% of France's aid to education went to higher education.[31] Although most support to education came from the development programs of OECD countries, there was significant support to higher education from Communist Countries, such as the Soviet Union and China, especially in the form of scholarship programs.[32]

Overall, then, despite the tensions and disagreements over priorities and focus, both within and outside Africa the mood was optimistic. Higher education had an important developmental mission, and could re-tool to face new challenges. External funds could support the new mission, and there was significant external support for projects aimed at institutional building, staff development through large scholarships and training programs, for development of research capacity, library support, and academic linkages. This support of higher education can be explained by several factors including the manpower planning orientation, the ascent of human capital theory, and the faith in the contribution of higher education to development.

### *Structural Adjustment (mid 1970s-1980s)*

The optimism of the immediate independence period was followed by the political turmoil of the 1970s and 1980s. Explanations of the origins of the widespread crisis, though varied, commonly focus on the connections between state incapacity and economic deterioration due to both local and external policy mistakes. Economic deterioration was usually blamed on the rise in import prices (especially oil), fiscal imbalance, falling commodity prices, and subsequent inability to service debt. Many also realized that economic decline undermined state structures and

---

27. (Coleman, Court, et al. 1993), p. 110.

28. (Coleman, Court, et al. 1993), p. 112.

29. (Coleman, Court, et al. 1993), p. 15.

30. (Creative Associates, Shaw, et al. 1981), p. 135.

31. (Orivel 1995).

32. (Creative Associates, Shaw, et al. 1981), p. 70.

worsened political unrest.[33] Yet others suggest that economic and political failure stemmed from the nature of the institutional arrangements developed under colonialism and hastily modified in the 1960s.[34]

Whatever the explanations for the crisis, the consequences were clearer. The average growth rate of Gross National Product per capita for sub-Saharan Africa had been about 2%, but in the 1980s GNP per capita showed no growth at all.[35] The political instability begun earlier continued. In an attempt to address the economic and political decline, African governments initiated their own structural reforms and entered into structural adjustment programs (SAP) with the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Often SAPs effectively mandated major reductions in government spending in the social sectors.

Universities were not immune to these changes in their environment. As we have noted, the increasingly common characterization was crisis.[36] At the first level, the crisis was manifested in the sharp financial constraints imposed on higher education. The economic distress was society wide, however, and in much of Africa was accompanied by continuing political unrest, civil wars, and increasingly by the rapid spread of HIV/AIDS. Within higher education, public recurrent expenditure per tertiary student fell from $6,461 in 1975 to $2,365 in 1983.[37] This decline in public recurrent expenditure per tertiary student was more pronounced in the Francophone countries.

As a result of these declines in economic and social conditions, higher education institutions became arenas of social struggle, as students nearly everywhere protested against government policies.[38] Many governments responded by becoming increasingly hostile towards universities. Soldiers were sent to campuses, students were arrested, some killed, and university closures were frequent. Professors who dared to speak out against reigning governments were censured and, in a few cases, killed, and academic freedom was severely curtailed.[39] In contrast to the early independent period when there was widespread political support for higher education, many governments, weakened by ongoing economic crisis, came to see universities as a threat to stability.

It was during this period that the World Bank became increasingly influential in education, including higher education, with important implications for Africa. During the 1970s and 1980s, the World Bank published four education policy documents, including one focused on education in Africa.[40] These documents reflected a growing disillusionment with higher education in Africa. In the 1974 document, education systems in developing countries were described as "ill-conceived and not adapted to developmental needs."[41] The World Bank was not satisfied with higher education's role in promoting development and was concerned about what it described as the "over-expansion" of education at the higher levels by the poorest countries, evidenced by an apparently increasing number of unemployed graduates. The recommendation to shift funds toward basic education was subsequently supported by studies done on the rates of return to education by World Bank economists, which reported that the highest private and social rates of return to education were at the primary level, and by other studies that reported that the

---

33. See, for example, (Chazen & Rothchild 1993).

34. (Brett 1995).

35. Data from World Development Indicators, 1998, and compiled by: (Bates 2002).

36. In addition to the sources listed above, see (Kingsley 2001); (Mamdani, University Crisis 1993); (Eshiwani 1989); and (Orivel 1995).

37. In constant 1983 dollars ((World Bank. 1988), p. 143).

38. For a chronology of African student protests see: (Federici & Caffentzis, Chronology 2000).

39. (Sherman 1990).

40. (World Bank. 1971); (World Bank. 1974); (World Bank. 1980); (World Bank. 1988).

41. Robert McNamara, President of World Bank (World Bank. 1974), Foreword, p. i.

subsidization of higher education did not benefit the poor.[42] While this orientation remains influential, the critiques, both conceptual and methodological and both within and outside the World Bank, have been forceful and widespread.[43]

Faith in the universities' role in development had all but disappeared. At the same time, there was a significant reduction in the level of external funding for Africa. The scale of projects was cut back significantly. For example, the number of universities in developing countries supported by USAID declined from a peak of 74 in 1965 to 10 by 1978.[44] By the early 1980s, the Rockefeller UDP/EFD program had come to an end in all of the African universities. Support to higher education did not end, but the form of that support changed in significant ways. Instead of supporting whole institutions, external support was targeted to individual departments for specific objectives. Maxwell, writing in the mid-1980s, suggests that partnerships evolved from a predominantly university-university connection to smaller, more flexible, departmental links.[45] Gone were the full-degree length overseas training of staff and huge scholarship programs and institution-wide support, and in their place developed sandwich-training programs and other such innovations.[46]

Many of the major funding and technical assistance agencies carried out fundamental reappraisals of their support policies in the early 1970s in light of changing conception of development.[47] Many were disillusioned by the apparent gap between the volume of expenditures on higher education and the apparently very modest progress toward economic growth and development. For example, in 1975, the British development agency published a white paper that announced a shift "from helping universities to helping with vocational training and other aspects of education which are close to the grassroots."[48] However, policy statements do not always translate easily to practice. A study of British assistance to education from 1989-91 found that about 52% of educational assistance still went to higher education sector.[49]

At a time when development economists were concerned with equity and help for the poorest, government and foreign spending on higher education was becoming increasingly unpopular.[50] With continued demand for education and most of the continent's children still not in school, financial support for higher education became less popular. From 1988 review of education in sub-Saharan Africa, the World Bank clearly favored redirecting resources toward primary education. We see here, then, not only diminishing national governments' support for higher education, but also less emphasis on this sector of education from the World Bank, an institution that is one of the most influential actors in the education policy arena, and other funding and technical assistance agencies.

This period is thus characterized by distinct but mutually reinforcing critiques of higher education in Africa. Universities are high priced privileged enclaves whose returns do not warrant the investment and continuing costly support. Spending on basic education yields greater returns

---

42. Among others, see {Psacharopoulos & Hinchliffe 1973}; {Psacharopoulos 1981}; {Psacharopoulos 1985}; and {Psacharopoulos 1991}.

43. See, for example, Bennell's analysis ({Bennell 1995}), included in a general debate on the World Bank's 1995 education policy review ({World Bank, Priorities and Strategies 1995}).

44. {Coleman, Court, et al. 1993}, p. 15.

45. {Maxwell 1984}.

46. The CIDA representative at the Academic Partnership Conference at Michigan State University reported that CIDA had virtually ended all bursary programs for African students to obtain post-graduate education in Canada: http://www.matrix.msu.edu/sacapacity/reports/part_research.html.

47. In 1972, Rockefeller and Ford foundations convened a conference on Education and Development Reconsidered during which many representatives from funding agencies gathered to review their experience with education sector support.

48. Quoted in {Coleman, Court, et al. 1993}, p. 15.

49. {Lewin 1994}, p. 161.

50. {World Bank, 1974}, p. 34.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

than spending on higher education. External support for higher education falters as a result of these critiques and changing priorities of national governments.

### *Education for All (1990s)*

The orientation toward basic education was intitutionalized during the World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand, in March 1990. Indeed, following the Jomtien conference the early 1990s saw increased support for basic education, and there is some evidence that this increased external support for basic education has come at the expense of higher education. The core argument for redirecting resources is straightforward. Education is critical to national development, however conceived. Currently, a large portion of the population (an average, larger in some countries, smaller in others) has little or no access to education, generally understood to mean the formal school system. Expanding access will require a significantly increased allocation of resources. But for strained African economies it will be difficult to increase education's share of the total budget. Even where that share grows, where total government revenue declines, a larger share of a smaller total may not yield additional funds. Where, then, to find the needed funds? One obvious strategy is to shift resources from a part of the education system with a very high per student outlay to basic education, where the same resources will reach many more learners. That general argument is then supported by research that reports higher social rates of return for investment in basic education and high private benefits for higher education. The redirection of resources can thus be presented as necessary, sound financial policy, and eminently fair.

Buchert indicates that funding agencies that had earlier allocated a larger proportion of assistance to higher education, like Britain's Overseas Development Agency, shifted their attention to basic education.[51] Some agencies, like Germany's Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), clearly indicate this bias:

> The promotion of basic education has been getting more emphasis—in our country initially at the expense of the promotion of higher education.[52]

Few studies have been conducted to see whether the reallocation has actually happened, and in general, incomplete and non-comparable data maket that difficult to do. One study by Bennel and Furlong[53] report a marked increase in aid to primary schooling—from 6.3% of total aid to education in 1982–83 to 13.6% in 1992–93. During the same period higher education's share of expenditures grew slightly from 9.2% to 10.8%. Much of the increased support for primary education in Sub-Saharan Africa came at the expense of vocational education, whose share of education spending went from 24.2% in 1983–1984 to 9.4% in 1993–1994. Brock-Utne argues that the increase in student fees at universities in Africa and the trend by individual departments to seek links with universities in the West were a direct result of funding agencies' policies on higher education.[54]

By the 1990s, many universities suffered from deteriorating physical facilities and departing distinguished faculty. Libraries were outdated, buildings were in disrepair, and academics who had not been lost to the brain drain were underpaid and overworked.[55] Notwithstanding the international commitment to basic education, It became increasingly difficult

---

51. (Buchert, Introduction 1995). The Overseas Development Agency was succeeded by the Department for International Development.

52. (Kuper 1998), p. 23, quoted in (Brock-Utne 2000), p. 223.

53. (Bennell & Furlong 1997).

54. (Brock-Utne 2000).

55. (Ajayi, Goma, et al. 1996).

for the international community to overlook the dire conditions of higher education institutions in Africa. By the mid 1990s, the revitalization of higher education was a recurrent theme.[56]

## *Knowledge Era: Revitalization of Higher Education (mid 1990s–)*

Knowledge was at the center of the new development thinking. Knowledge is development.

> Knowledge is critical for development, because everything we do depends on knowledge. . . . For countries in the vanguard of the world economy, the balance between knowledge and resources has shifted so far towards the former that knowledge has become perhaps the most important factor determining the standard of living—more than land, than tools, than labor. Today's most technologically advanced economies are truly knowledge-based.[57]

As knowledge becomes central to the economy, so too does higher education, since as Burton Clark wrote almost two decades earlier, "for as long as higher education has been formally organized, it has been a social structure for the control of advanced knowledge."[58] This point is echoed in the report of the Task Force on Higher Education convened by The World Bank and UNESCO:

> As knowledge becomes more important, so does higher education. Countries need to educate more of their young people to a higher standard—a degree is now a basic qualification for many skilled jobs. The quality of knowledge generated within higher education institutions, is becoming increasingly critical to national competitiveness.[59]

This increasingly widespread focus on knowledge as critical for development may benefit higher education in Africa. It may also become yet another vehicle for maintaining external direction, even control.[60] It is far from clear that increased attention to knowledge production and dissemination will enhance national competitiveness for most African countries, or significantly reduce poverty in Africa.

Yet we see a move towards institutional and system change in a number of African countries. Uganda, Tanzania, Mozambique, and South Africa are the most widely referenced examples. Change is occurring in the financing, governance, management, curriculum, and in the use of information and communication technologies in public institutions. We also note the emergence of numerous private institutions in many countries.

One major development of the 1990s that has had a major impact on higher education across the continent was the end of the apartheid in South Africa. For South Africa, the 1990s was a period of widespread transformation and reconstruction, as the country struggled to rid itself of the legacies of apartheid. The transformation of higher education in South Africa has had enormous implications not only for that country, but also for many countries in Africa—especially those in the SADC region—as South Africa has the largest higher education system in the continent. The events in South Africa that shaped higher education coincided with increasing attention to what has been termed the knowledge economy and its implications for higher education. Once again higher education was coming to be seen as an essential, and indeed leading, component of the education system.

---

56. The terminology, "revitalization," was common to both the World Bank and the Association of African Universities. (Salmi & Verspoor 1994); (Saint 1992); and (Association of African Universities & World Bank 1997).

57. (World Bank, World Development Report 1999), p. 130.

58. (Clark 1983), p. 11.

59. (Independent Task Force on Higher Education and Society. & World Bank. 2000), p. 9.

60. Samoff and Stromquist outline advantages and potential problems in the enthusiasm for the knowledge era: (Samoff and Stromquist, Managing Knowledge).

This renewed focus on higher education transformation is bolstered, in no small part, by the asserted importance of knowledge in the development process. It is in this context that attention has turned once again to programs that support partnerships with African higher education institutions by national agencies like USAID, CIDA, and NUFFIC. Similarly, in that setting has emerged a cooperative effort among four foundations, termed the Partnership to Strengthen African Universities that promises to provide dramatic new resources, of which some may be used to support academic partnerships. Launched in April 2000 by the Ford Foundation, MacArthur Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, and the Carnegie Corporation of New York, that (meta) partnership has committed the foundations to investing $100 million in African universities over five years.

## Forms and Patterns of External Support

### *Multiple Sources, Varied Forms*

As our brief historical review has shown, external assistance to higher education in Africa has come from a variety of sources over the years. During the colonial era, support for establishing higher education institutions came from religious institutions like the Church Missionary Society, philanthropic institutions like the Phelps-Stokes Fund, colonial administrations, private foundations like the Carnegie Corporation, and higher education institutions of the colonial powers (primarily France, Britain, and Belgium). During the independence era, the number of actors expanded to include national agencies and higher education institutions of countries without colonies such as the U.S., U.S.S.R., Canada, Sweden, and others. International agencies like UNESCO and lending agencies like the World Bank also became major actors in higher education policy. The private foundations like Rockefeller expanded their programs in Africa. Currently, this field now includes many private foundations, both larger and smaller, such as the Bill and Melissa Gates foundation, non-governmental organizations such as the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE), and private corporations such as Cisco Systems.[61]

Some of the more direct forms of support fall broadly into the general categories of capital expenditure, staff development, library support, research, *student* scholarships, and technical assistance. Institution building has included funding for establishing new institutions or departments within institutions and for materials like textbooks and laboratory equipment. Support for staff development has commonly included fellowships for overseas study and conference participation. Library support has included book donations, journal subscriptions, free access to electronic resources of scholarly material, and digitizing African research journals and archives. Although library support can also be categorized as research support, we treat them here as separate categories. Research support has included grants for research and publications, funds to publish and present papers at conferences, and support for the development of research institutes. The broad category of student support has included fellowships and scholarships for current students, opportunities for study abroad through student exchange programs, support to student-run newspapers, and similar initiatives. Technical assistance has included foreign personnel who have provided advice or training on higher education policy and practice and who have occasionally assumed posts in African education ministries and universities.

Linkages or partnerships between higher education institutions in Africa and foreign institutions are another, increasingly popular, form of external support and are a major focus of our overview. Among the many different sorts of partnerships that have emerged, we focus here on partnerships between U.S. and African institutions, which in practice encompass many of the different forms of external support noted above.

---

61. For a list of major organizations that provide support to higher education in Africa, see the Appendices, page 1.

External support to higher education in Africa can also be indirect. For example, several private (both for-profit and nonprofit) colleges in Europe have created higher education institutions in Africa. Since our principal concern here is with higher education as a public responsibility and since the major partnerships are with public institutions, we note but do not dwell on those private initiatives to create new universities.

External support to higher education is neither conceived nor provided in a vacuum. Context is important in understanding the forms and types of support provided. As well, often external support has repercussions that reach far beyond the immediate setting in which it is provided. Accordingly, it is important to explore the way in which external support has influenced African development in general, and higher education in particular. For reasons already highlighted, we focus on the period after independence.

## Patterns of Influence

The rhetoric of aid has always focused on assisting African countries to develop their own higher education systems. In practice, of course, most of the aid-providing organizations explicitly and implicitly are guided by and seek to promote national interests. Indeed, that is the institutional mandate of governmental foreign aid institutions.

For this reason, the history of external support to education in Africa is perhaps best understood within a foreign aid policy framework that has been bolstered by different rationales over the years. Consider the United States. U.S. Assistance became more prominent after the 1950s, reflecting legislation passed in 1950 following the articulation of the U.S. role in world economic recovery by President Harry Truman during his inaugural address.[62] Coleman and Court found this new legislation remarkable because it explicitly declared that

> The economic development of under-developed areas was a national policy of the United States. Based upon a mixture of humanitarianism, national security, and economic self-interest, it marked the first formal articulation of the principle of the moral and imperative of development assistance, which rapidly became part of an emergent new international ethic.[63]

Truman's inaugural address highlighted the threat of the spread of communism, a major concern of the U.S. government. To counter that threat, the U.S. sought to cultivate allies abroad, including newly independent states, and to do so within a general framework of support to democracy. Education was to play an important role in that effort, perhaps especially in Africa. That logic was clear in a letter from the president of the American Council on Education to the president of the Carnegie Corporation on why the Council should be concerned with Africa.

> The present all-out world struggle between communism and democracy surely will soon have Africa as one of its major areas. The nearly two hundred million people in the African countries are a major prize, to say nothing of the as yet untapped and scarcely unknown mineral resources they may possess.[64]

He concluded that it was important that:

> Africans in the rank and file may understand the difference between communism and democracy.[65]

---

62. "Fourth, we must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas" (President Harry Truman 1949).

63. (Coleman, Court, et al. 1993), p. 11.

64. Quoted in (Berman 1983), p. 57.

65. Quoted in (Berman 1983), p. 57.

This focus on Africans in the "rank and file" may be one reason for the large scholarhip program for overseas studies in the U.S. One such program, the African Scholarship Program of American Universities (ASPAU), which lasted from 1961 to 1970, gave scholarships to over 1500 students of whom 64% returned to Africa and were employed in positions of leadership.[66] While influence of this sort is rarely direct or linear, it is clear that these fellowships were understood as an effort to inform and shape the thinking of Africans likely to assume leadership positions at home. Another approach of the U.S. government was to support the creation of universities modeled on U.S. institutions, of which the best known is perhaps the University of Nsukka in Nigeria.

Soviet assistance to education in Africa, while not as large as U.S. support, was also significant. The Soviet Union, like the United States, was interested in influencing the ideological orientation of African societies. The competition between the United States and the Soviet Union found a new battleground in Africa, and support to higher education reflected this reality. One of the relatively few scholarly works available in English on Soviet assistance to education in Africa was the dissertation by Harold Weaver.[67] Weaver describes the Soviet programs to assist higher education in Africa by providing scholarships for African students to study in the Soviet Union and establishing technical institutions in a number of countries including Guinea, Ghana, and Ethiopia. The Soviet study abroad program began in 1956 with 14 students. By 1963 some 3000 African students were enrolled in higher education institutions in the Soviet Union. Students in Soviet universities had to take required courses in political economy, scientific socialism, and Marxism-Leninism.

A unique Soviet innovation was the establishment of the Lumumba Friendship University in the Soviet Union for students from Third World countries. Khrushchev explained that this new university was established to:

> Give aid to colonial and neo-colonial Third-World countries in the training of their national cadres of engineers, agricultural specialists, doctors, teachers, economists, and specialists.[68]

This university differed from other Soviet universities because it did not require a formal secondary degree. Nor did it require approval from African governments for admitted students. Like other Soviet projects, the focus of Friendship University was on developing technical and scientific skills.

African leaders were aware of this battle between the U.S. and Soviet Union to export their political ideology to African countries. Weaver argues that many African governments, by taking a position of non-alignment, were able to solicit and accept support from both the United States and the Soviet Union. As leaders like Nyerere and Nkrumah tried to define an African development path, they looked to both capitalism and socialism for elements they deemed suitable to their environment.[69]

The foreign policy orientation of national aid agencies is clear. What of the philanthropic organizations? Berman argues forcefully that they, too, pursued a similar agenda. He shows that private foundations like Ford, Rockefeller, and Carnegie collaborated with US government agencies in the "execution of a foreign policy that protected the interests of the US and of the world capitalist system upon which that policy rested."[70] The foundation supported programs in

---

66. (Rich 1978). Examples of employment of selected participants include Professor of Economics (Morocco), Assistant to the President on Economic Matters, and Secretary to the Economic Council (Tanzania), Principal, Kenyatta University College (Kenya), Director General, national Bureau of Technical Studies and Development (Ivory Coast).

67. (Weaver 1985).

68. Quoted in (Weaver 1985), p. 117 (apparently taken from a text broadcast by Radio Moscow, 22 February 1960).

69. (Weaver 1985), p. 50-51.

70. (Berman 1983), p. 39. See also (Arnove, Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism).



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

higher education in Africa that reflected their beliefs that the implantation of U.S. notions of democracy and governance would improve the lives of poor Africans and that investing in human capital would stimulate economic growth. The Carnegie Corporation focused on teacher education, the Ford Foundation on the social sciences and public administration, while Rockefeller focused on the social, natural and biomedical sciences.[71]

These foundations supported a small number of universities, which they hoped would serve as regional centers. Ford support went primarily to Nigeria, Ethiopia, Zaire and the University of East Africa. Rockefeller and Carnegie also focused on University of East Africa and Nigeria. Indeed, the three foundations apparently paid particular attention to the same countries. While Coleman and Court list strong leadership, potential for change, and prospects for additional funding among the criteria used to select institutions,[72] Berman focuses instead on geopolitical considerations.

Ford and Rockefeller also significantly influenced social sciences in their countries of interest through the support of research institutes and departments of economics, like the East African Institute of Social Research and the Department of Economics at Makerere University in Uganda. The foundations paid particular attention to social sciences because of their belief in the power to "rationally manage social change" and in "an assumed link between social science and enlightened policy determination."[73] This effort to shape the institutions of knowledge production was stimulated by and in turn reinforced the broader trends of the era, which Coleman and Court characterize as the "global diffusion of the modern university," the "changing conceptions of development," and the "shifting perspectives regarding the relationship between higher education and development."[74]

* * * * *

Patterns of influence have thus been varied and have evolved with changing global and local circumstances. Outsiders, including philanthropic foundations as well as governments, had a strong sense of how instruction and research should be organized in African universities and regularly sought to shape departments, faculties, and institutes according to their vision. Educated and socialized overseas, African university academic staff brought home not only new skills and understandings but also strong views on the appropriate mission (intellectual and developmental), domain (academic and political), and methodology (instruction and research) for higher education in Africa. Institutional cooperation has tended to reinforce particular perspectives and orientations and disparage and devalue others. We are not suggesting that all external influence was problematic or that external ideas and preferences were invariably implemented faithfully and uncritically. African universities have innovated and insisted on their own direction and overseas institutions acknowledge learning from Africa. It does seem clear that from their creation institutions of higher education in Africa have been strongly influenced, both directly and indirectly, by intellectual and political currents from abroad and that their organization and orientation reflect the internalization and local articulation of particular ideas about what should be their mission and focus. It also seems clear that there is little evidence of Mazrui's notion of counter-penetration—powerful African influences in the overseas institutions that educate and employ Africans.[75]

---

71. (Berman 1983), p. 5.

72. (Coleman, Court, et al. 1993), Chapter 12.

73. (Berman 1983), p. 79.

74. (Coleman, Court, et al. 1993), p. 1.

75. (Mazrui 1975).

## Contemporary Themes

Having reviewed briefly major turning points in higher education and external support to higher education Africa, let us now turn toward the present. For that, it is important to explore, also briefly, the contemporary context for the development of higher education in Africa and for partnerships. What are the major pushes and pulls? What are the principal constraints? Our concern here is to note, though space does not permit us to elaborate, important trends and influences.

The beginning of the new century has seen a renewed interest in higher education in Africa, both within and outside Africa. That is a transition from the preceding two decades, when higher education had lost both public and financial support. In part, the renewed interest reflects an inclination toward a holistic view of the education system in which basic education and higher education are understood as complementary rather than primarily as competitors for scarce resources..

### *Rising Costs, Declining Resources*

An important dimension of the context for international partnerships is the increasing costs of higher education. The solitary scholar purveying knowledge to assembled learners, relying on personal notes, a chalkboard, and occasionally a map or chart, is no longer an adequate mode of instruction at university level. Lecturing continues and will continue for some time. But competent lecturers will increasingly require effective and up to date libraries that in turn draw on computerized databases and internet sources, photocopiers, fax machines, projectors, video, and broadband internet access. Equipment for the sciences, engineering, and medicine has become more sophisticated and significantly more expensive and for the most part is not produced within Africa. The standards for reliable and valid research make the research process more expensive.

Declining terms of trade compound the rising costs. Not only does social science research require computerized databases and regressions, but also the equipment needed to accomplish that has become relatively more expensive even as unit costs have declined in the producing countries. Since Africa is not creating electron microscopes, DNA analyzers, or the next version of Windows, it continues to be a high price purchaser of others' advances.

Higher education in Africa thus becomes more dependent on external support. That poses a challenge for international partnerships. How to provide support without entrenching dependence? The deeper challenge is how to provide support in ways that challenge dependence.

### *The Internationalization of Higher Education and Research*

"Globalization" is one of the trend words of our era. While clearly something is happening, the term is used by so many people, to mean so many different things that its analytic utility has been vitiated. Indeed, the common uses are somewhat puzzling for Africa, where colonization was surely a powerful manifestation of globalization long before the present. From Africa's perspective, that earlier strategy for integrating Africa into the world economy on terms set in Europe has been succeeded by the structural adjustment and liberalization of the present, now managed by the international financial institutions. It is far from clear that the more rapid flow of information or capital, and sometimes of products and people, will automatically improve the lot of the world's poor, or foster democratization, or support empowerment or liberation. It is people and the organizations and institutions they create that have structured our world, and it is people who must change it. In the absence of strong counter pressures, technological changes are likely to be used by those in power to maintain their power.

As we highlight the internationalization of higher education, it is important to note the persisting dominant role of the most affluent countries, especially the United States, in higher education, including the volume of higher education and research (for example, the percentage of the population enrolled in higher education, allocations per higher education student, number of publications), control over the most influential publication modes, and dissemination of prevailing ideas about research and education.

The broad globalization debate is beyond our task here. One dimension of the internationalization of higher education and research, however, does require attention. Is there a continuing brain drain from Africa? What are the implications of brain drain, and concerns about it, for higher education partnerships?

More rapid international movement and exchange, new information and communication technologies, and declining transportation costs have combined to intensify the global market for higher education and knowledge. While the intensity of this internationalization has increased, higher education institutions have long been international in nature. Migration of scholars (both faculty and students) and cooperation in teaching and research have a long tradition in African higher education. Some observers, however, point to those Africans who remain overseas and insist there is a systematic brain drain, an outflow of Africa's resources and soul no less consequential for African development than the export of unprocessed raw materials and indeed the slave trade.

Let us reiterate. International mobility is not in itself detrimental to higher education in Africa but rather is essential for it. Intellectual isolation would surely be very short sighted. Once they have completed their education, scholars locate and relocate for many different reasons including, but not limited to, higher salaries, more job opportunities, better laboratories and libraries, oppression, political unrest, civil wars, and more. What have been the trends?

While the anecdotes are numerous—it is difficult to imagine an urban U.S. hospital without a significant group of immigrant doctors, nurses, and other staff—the available data on Africans who move and remain overseas are few and not entirely consistent. Claims and laments about the brain drain have been a prominent focus of the popular press.[76] Only recently has serious scholarship emerged.[77] That is not surprising, since it is difficult to track students and graduates abroad and since Africa's education statisticians have higher priorities. The data that are available suggest that while tertiary enrollment in sub-Saharan Africa increased steadily from 1980 (400,000) through 1996 (2,200,000), the number of Africans studying abroad rose until 1990, then declined, and may still not have returned to the 1990 level. As a percentage of total tertiary enrollment, Africans studying abroad declined from nearly a third (29.2%) in 1980 to less than 5% in 1996.[78] Most study in what UNESCO terms the "more developed regions," but that too has apparently been declining somewhat (from 87% of the Africans studying abroad in 1992 to 76% in 1996).

One study of the return rates of African Ph.D.s educated in North America between 1986-1996 highlights several important influences. First, older recipients have higher return rates. Second, there were large differences between countries, with countries like Nigeria, Ghana, and Cameroon having the lowest return rates, and Tanzania, Zimbabwe, and South Africa having high return rates. Students at some U.S. institutions, especially those with nationally recognized and

---

76. For example, (Brain drain costs Africa billions 2001). For an Africanist perspective, see the forthcoming issue of *African Issues* focused on "The African 'Brain Drain' to the North: Pitfalls and Possibilities."

77. For example, (Kigotho, Brain Drain Stunts Africa 2002). See also (Zeleza, African Universities 2002).

78. The data are from UNESCO, *World Education Report* (Paris: UNESCO, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1998, 2000). Inconsistent figures in the different issues of the *World Education Report* do not affect the general observation noted here. Note that UNESCO and most other data sources refer to sub-Saharan Africa rather than Africa as defined by geography or the Organization of African Unity or its successor, the African Union.

funded African Studies centers, have higher rates of return, and there are some small differences based on fields of study.[79] The funding sources also seem to matter, with students who support themselves having much lower rates of return than those who are primarily supported by foreign government scholarship programs.

The available data are far from conclusive. Some Africans study overseas. They represent a modest proportion of total tertiary enrollment in Africa but probably a much higher percentage of those enrolled in post-graduate programs. Clearly some Africans with advanced education migrate. The rate seems to vary among African countries. Where higher education enrollments remain so low, the departure of even a few of Africa's most highly educated citizens may be a serious constraint on development efforts. We find here yet another manifestation of Africa's integration into a global economic system on terms largely set by others. As the market for high level skills is increasingly globalized and at least at that level, restrictions on movement are reduced, like their counterparts elsewhere Africans will be attracted to jobs and opportunities not available at home.

What are the policy issues here? One has to do with the investment of public resources in the education of Africans who emigrate. A second has to do with the value to Africa of relatively unfettered international exchanges and travel. A third concerns the costs of restricting or redirecting whatever migration is deemed problematic.

Most Africans have benefitted from public support to their education, but it is far from clear that those who have studied overseas are less likely than others to use their education to advance national development. To the extent that students are financing their own overseas study, their extended absence does not reflect a misdirection of public resources.

Still, should African countries seek to limit overseas study and travel and require all former students to work in the country, at least for a specified period? Would Africa, and African development, benefit from much more restricted opportunities to study and remain overseas? Surely not, argue those who point to the value to Africa of exposure to and mastery of new ideas and technologies, even if some Africans do not return home. Similarly, there is a strong case to be made for the value to Africa of a relatively unrestricted flow of ideas, publications, and people in higher education, which implies few limits on overseas study. Where Africa's higher education institutions find it difficult or impossible to support serious research, whether in the field, in the library, or in the laboratory, the advantages of the international research connections and funding, it seems, outweigh their disadvantages. Pires, Kassimir, and Brhane conclude that overseas study results in a "net gain for the countries whose citizens go abroad for advanced training and education."[80] There are thus strong arguments for permitting Africans to seek opportunities abroad, even in the recognition that some will make their lives elsewhere. As the market for high level skills is globalized, so must be the outlook and competitiveness of those who seek to recruit them.

Efforts to limit overseas study or work are thus likely to have severe negative consequences and to alienate those who have the most choices about where to live . Where they have been tried, efforts to require students to return home or to work for a specified period in particular posts have generally been unsuccessful. Since restrictions and rules seem not to resolve this problem, the remedies must lie in increasing the attractiveness of jobs at home, including improved working conditions, opportunities for advanced study and professional development, salary and other incentives, and perhaps most important, personally and professionally rewarding engagement in their own institutions and society and their development. As well, understanding the African higher education community internationally encourages the development of overseas networks that link African expatriates with each other and with colleagues and institutions at

79. (Pires, Kassimir, et al. 1999), p. 38-39.

80. (Pires, Kassimir, Brhane Investing 1999), p. 38.

home.[81] Perhaps even more important is re-thinking this issue in terms that envision regular movement of students and graduates into and out of Africa and that seek to build on that flow rather than reduce it.

This is an important issue for external support to higher education. The concern that their fellowship programs are contributing to the brain drain from African countries has caused some funding agencies to reconsider those programs and to discontinue support for study abroad. Yet what are the alternatives? As we have suggested, it seems timely to proceed beyond the encourage/discourage brain drain dichotomy toward notions of international collaboration that recognize the internationalization of higher education and that work to use that to Africa's advantage. That requires examining who benefits from particular sorts of arrangements and focusing on how to increase the likelihood of genuine intellectual exchange. That also requires cooperating institutions to structure their relationships in ways likely to support sustainable institutional development in Africa.

### *Knowledge, Knowledge Creation, and Knowledge Management*

Among the most important responsibilities of higher education institutions are the creation and dissemination of knowledge. But what is knowledge, how knowledge is created, and what exactly is and should be the university role in knowledge creation and dissemination are all sharply disputed. Exploring those issues in depth is far beyond the scope of this overview. It is important, however, to highlight several major debates about knowledge that influence both the development of higher education in Africa and partnerships between U.S. and African institutions.

First, as we have noted above, is the increasingly widely shared view that knowledge is the critical factor for development. If so, then institutions where knowledge is created, stored, analyzed, and diffused are correspondingly central to the development process. Informed skepticism is warranted here. It is not clear that the instructional missions and pedagogical styles of many African universities enable them to play a central role in creating knowledge or organizing its dissemination.

Second, the evangelists of new technologies, especially computers and the internet, insist that widespread access to the new technology will necessarily lead to new patterns of organization in education and to new outcomes. The underlying assertion here is that by permitting widespread direct access to knowledge and communications across the world, individuals will become less dependent on knowledge intermediaries and thus more effective in specifying directions and organizing their own communities. Perhaps so. But for most of Africa, that prospect remains much farther in the future than the proselytizers claim. Notwithstanding declining unit costs and the proliferation of internet cafes, access remains limited and expensive. Outsiders remain the developers and purveyors of hardware, software, and content. Change in both hardware and software is rapid and externally driven. Until Africa becomes an active center for the development of hardware and software, there is no reason to expect that gap to close. Until it closes, pursuing the technology promise will have much of the character of the search for the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow.

Third, influential voices argue that the role of universities ought to change, indeed will change with or without the active engagement of university leaders. For Gibbons, the knowledge era has powerful consequences for universities.[82] In this era, knowledge production is increasingly widely distributed and decreasingly located at official knowledge-producing institutions like universities. Accordingly, universities' core tasks, knowledge production and dissemination,

---

81. One model is the South African Network of Skills Abroad (SANSA): http://sansa.nrf.ac.za.

82. Gibbons' general argument is summarized in (Gibbons, Higher Education Relevance, 1998). See also (Gibbons, New Production, 1994).

require interaction and collaboration with other knowledge producers. As knowledge is increasingly produced elsewhere, universities must become competent at drawing on knowledge they do not produce, at adapting and modifying it, and then at passing it on. At the same time, Gibbons argues, there is a shift in the type of knowledge that matters. What Gibbons terms Mode 1 knowledge characterizes contemporary universities. Knowledge is organized around disciplines, which specify what is accepted as valid knowledge and therefore what learners must master, especially those who will themselves become knowledge producers. Those disciplines then become the organizational matrix for universities. That sort of knowledge is being supplemented, and significantly supplanted, by what Gibbons terms Mode 2 knowledge. Knowledge is produced as it is applied. Knowledge production in this mode is transdisciplinary (rather than disciplinary), requires heterogeneous skills (rather than more narrow specialization), flourishes in less hierarchical organizations whose structures are flexible and often short-lived, and is reflexive and socially accountable (rather than outward looking and sheltered from public scrutiny and pressure).

Immanuel Wallerstein and his colleagues in the Gulbenkian develop a parallel argument that is similarly critical of the disciplinary organization of contemporary universities.[83] That pattern served a particular empirical and political, need, they argued, but has now become outmoded and constraining. While challenges to the dominance of the conventional disciplines in Africa have thus far largely failed, for example in Tanzania and Zambia in the 1960s and 1970s, this critique is becoming the platform for the development of new higher education degree programs elsewhere.

Note that while both of these perspectives insist that the role and the organization of universities are changing, they do so from rather different perspectives. Gibbons situates the transformation of higher education in the context of the changing economy and largely in the domain of ideas. Wallerstein locates the impetus for transformation in the changing organization of production and corresponding structures of power.

What is important for this discussion is that Africa's engagement with these issues to date is limited and scattered and has not been systematic or sustained. With some exceptions, debate about higher education policy and direction, discussions of specific university programs and reforms, and research on higher education in Africa do not address these fundamental challenges, even to dismiss them.

There are here several risks for partnerships between U.S. and African universities. Persuaded of the power of the knowledge era and of their own importance in it, even sensitive and respectful outsiders can begin to act as missionaries with a new god. Uncritical faith in the empowering character of new technology and the importance of knowledge can obscure the ways in which the ideas, institutions, and relationships of the knowledge era mystify and maintain power relations.

### *Privatization*

Perhaps no topic in higher education in Africa has been discussed as much as the issue of finance. Who should pay and how much are questions that continue to plague governments and policymakers. The main problem posed was how best to finance an expanding higher education sector during an era of declining government budgets for the sector. Almost all policy recommendations for financing universities revolved around privatizing those institutions. Although the term privatization in the context of higher education is ambiguous, in general, it

83. (Gulbenkian Commission, 1996).

refers to the expansion of the private sector in higher education and substantially higher fees in public institutions. Some proposals included developing a credit market for higher education.[84]

The reasons for privatization are varied, but linked, and relate to both macro-economic and micro-economic concerns. They include:(1) the rise of neo-liberalism globally, which calls for a reduction in the size and activities of the state on grounds of equity and efficiency; (2) fiscal constraints of governments due to economic and political crisis; (3) loss of faith in universities as institutions serving the public good; (4) increasing importance of the Education for All agenda, which favors spending on basic education over higher education; (5) increased emphasis on the private benefits of higher education, which leads to a push for higher individual payments on equity grounds; and (6) a proliferation of studies showing higher private and social rates of returns to primary education, which were then used to argue for reallocation of funds from higher to primary education on grounds of both equity and allocative efficiency.

The education private sector in Africa is small but growing, with Kenya the country with the largest number of private institutions.[85] Where it exists, the private higher education sector includes universities, specialty colleges, open universities, distance learning institutions, and more. The providers of private higher education include religious institutions, private companies, non-governmental organizations, and extensions of private universities abroad. With few exceptions, most private institutions are teaching institutions that specialize in particular fields. Ironically, some of the overseas institutions that participated in the birth of African universities are now becoming their direct competitors for students and perhaps public resources.

A second approach to privatization focuses on student fees. Initially, education in Africa, and higher education in particular, as in Europe, were deemed a public good. The few students who reached the higher levels of the education system were supported by the public treasury. In some countries, that remains the case. Others, however, have reduced the subsidies to students and instituted tuition fees. The proximate cause for this transition was declining government resources that coincieded with the international focus on education for all. The outcome of this combination was strong pressure to institute and increase tuition fees for post-secondary institutions.

That has become common across Africa. The most widely cited example is Makerere University in Uganda, which started accepting private fee-paying students in the early 1990s. In 2000 Makerere derived about 30% of its operating costs from private sources.[86] While many countries have abolished the food and living allowances that students received in the early years, charging tuition fees remains a politically unpopular policy.

As we have noted, several factors have combined to erode the government monopoly on education and increase private provision. In much of Africa, small elite universities primarily concerned with preparing future civil servants whose graduates were assured jobs have become institutions with a broader focus, a larger pool of students, and no job guarantees. Where graduates are no longer primarily civil servants, the rationale for full government support to all students has changed. As that has occurred, partial and full tuition fees have become common. At the same time, in many places private education has expanded rapidly at all levels.

Education policy and management, including both instruction and research, remain largely a public responsibility, but private influences, both local and foreign, are increasingly prominent. In that way, privatization affects—modifies the balance of power in decision making—not only the content and forms of education but also the process of determining the public role and responsibilities of education. Higher education is likely to be particularly sensitive to this transition, since its relatively small enrollment constitutes a narrow (though often very vocal)

84. (Psacharopoulos, Tan, et al. 1986), pp. 25–26.

85. (Eisemon, World Bank, et al. 1992), p. 1.

86. (Court 2000).

constituency, since its staff are already affected by the international market for high level skills, and since the prevailing models continue to be the elite institutions of the affluent countries.

The privatization of public institutions has been challenged on many grounds. There are considerable equity concerns if able students cannot attend higher education institutions because they cannot afford the fees. Loans and bursaries may be a solution to this problem, but there are few working loan systems in Africa. A broad challenge to privatization has to do with what happens to the public in public higher education if as Sawyerr suggests, large public universities like Makerere, are now effectively becoming privatized.[87] A recent dialogue in South Africa on higher education and the public good reflects this concern. The participants appealed to higher education institutions and stakeholders to "engage with the public good" and "to advance higher education as a public good," while being careful to wrestle with the questions of "which public" and "whose good."[88]

* * * * *

We have sought here to identify and discuss briefly the context for the development of partnerships between U.S. and African institutions. Rising costs and declining public resources, privatization of higher education, the internationalization of higher education and research, and the role of knowledge and knowledge producers in the knowledge era, all influence and constrain those partnerships, often in ways that are complex and difficult to discern. We turn now to those partnerships.

## Orienting External Support

Our review thus far makes clear that many different people and groups, both within and outside Africa, insist that they know what higher education in Africa should be doing, what higher education in Africa needs, and how those understandings of mission and needs should inform external support. For many, even as global debates rage about learning, knowledge, and expertise, and about the institutions that can and do nurture them, higher education's mission in Africa seems so obvious that it remains unquestioned.

> In our single-minded pursuit to create centres of learning and research of international standing, we had nurtured researchers and educators who had little capacity to work in surrounding communities but who could move to any institution in any industrialised country, and serve any privileged community around the globe with comparative ease. In our failure to contextualise standards and excellence to the needs of our own people, to ground the very process and agenda of learning and research in our conditions, we ended up creating an intelligentsia with little stamina for the very process of development whose vanguard we claimed to be. . . . . But [no African governments] questioned the very nature of the institutions we had created and sustained.[89]

For academic partnerships, that is problematic. What should guide the content, form, and priorities of those partnerships, and more generally, external support to higher education in Africa? While often presented as if they were obvious and unchallenged, the responses and claims are multiple and not fully in accord. Let us consider several vantage points.

---

87. Sawyerr's analysis is summarized in (Jonathan, Higher Education Transformation 2001), p. 101.

88. (Singh Re-inserting 2001), p. 16, drawing on (Calhoun, Public Good, 1998).

89. (Mamdani, University Crisis and Reform 1993), p. 15.

## The Universities' Perspectives

An obvious answer to the query about the orientation of partnerships is to rely on what African universities say they are they are trying to accomplish. Yet, a quick review reveals mujltiple objectives and priorities. For some, the primary focus is *higher level skills training. While most economists of education have largely discarded the manpower planning approach*—reliance on detailed estimates of future human resource needs to guide the establishment, development, and curricular content of education institutions—in practice it remains influential in many countries.[90] Others emphasize the *developmental university*.[91] The foundational notions remain functionalist: higher education must be linked directly and explicitly to national development strategies and perceived needs. Note that within this orientation two different notions of "developmental" have emerged. For some, the specification of development and development strategy are largely external to higher education. An alternative notion asserts that reconsidering and reconceptualizing development and the national development strategy are not only appropriate but essential concerns of higher education. In this conception, the developmental university has a generative and therefore necessarily critical role.

A third orientation focuses on a *liberal education*. Two major understandings define this perspective. The first asserts the importance of developing informed, educated young people, more or less independent of particular notions of development or development strategies. Learning is broad and broadly desirable. The second recognizes that rapid changes in patterns of production will require people, and especially the society's elite, to have broad skills, to be able to develop new skills, to be capable of moving to new employment and learning on the job, and to develop new jobs. To develop the higher level skills that the society needs, learning must therefore focus not on specific skills but on how to develop skills. A fourth orientation emphasizes higher education institutions as *centers of intellectual development*. This conception has a somewhat broader reach than liberal education, with major emphasis on inquiry, investigation, exploration, and fundamental research. An extension of this orientation, fifth, seeks to foster an *alliance between higher education institutions and the private sector*. The model to be emulated is an idealized version of Silicon Valley in California and its analogues elsewhere with intense and sustained interaction between univesities and economic enterprises focused on creating, developing, and implementing advanced technology. Notwithstanding some plans and initial steps in this direction and a good deal of clamor about privatization, to date there is little evidence of a viable example of this sort of association. Finally, a sixth orientation regards higher education as key to *national liberation*. With deep roots in Africa, this perspective has three major strands. One strand emphasizes the role of higher education in the decolonization of the mind. A second strand focuses on the liberation of the curriculum from what is seen as the tyranny of the disciplines, that is the organization of intellectual activity into frameworks and categories developed earlier in Europe and profoundly constraining in the present, perhaps in Africa even more than elsewhere.[92] A third liberationist strand focuses on the role of higher education institutions in political liberation. Universities ought to be intellectual crucibles and staging grounds for thinking and organizing to challenge various sorts of status quo.

In practice, of course, these orientations intersect and overlap. Periodically they are in tension. Each specific setting may manifest several perspectives in differing strengths. Like the rest of the education sector, and perhaps even more so, higher education is buffeted by the tension between the conservative charter of education--whose principal task is assumed to be the reproduction of a particular economic, political, and social order and its associated values—and

90. In its effort to draw lessons from earlier experiences, the World Bank is explicitly self-critical of its own reliance on a narrow manpower rationale for its support to higher education. {World Bank, Higher Education The Lessons of Experience}, p. 12.

91. For an early statement, see {Nyerere, University's Role 1967}.

92. For a systematic elaboration of this critique see {Wallerstein, Unthinking 1991}, and {Gulbenkian Commission, 1996}.

the transformationist role periodically assigned to it.[93] In short, relying on African universities to orient external support requires is not straightforward and requires *choosing* among objectives and priorities and therefore among conflicting conceptions of higher education and its contemporary mission.

## Working Group on Higher Education

Another vantage point for orienting partnerships with universities in Africa is that of the Working Group on Higher Education (WGHE), one of several working groups created by the Donors to African Education.[94] With the World Bank as its lead agency, WGHE in 1993 commissioned eight working papers on the future role and mission of African universities.[95] Here, too, we find not a recipe for external support but a varied menu. Cooperation programs, they argue, must be based on three core principles that reach across the objectives and practices of Africa's higher education institutions: (1) mutual advantage, which is likely to include staff exchange, collaborative research, and graduate training; (2) flexible funding, which should emphasize local decision making, based on (a) prior justification, (b) prompt use, and (c) subsequent accounting—summarized as "justify first, use now, and account afterwards"; and (3) multi-institutional cooperation, including at least three universities, two from the South and one from the North.

## The World Bank's Analysis

Throughout the history of higher education in Africa, outsiders have been outspoken on what universities should be doing, what is problematic, and what are the appropriate remedies for the problems that have been identified. Especially energetic in that role has been the World Bank, which has periodically commissioned research, undertaken broad analyses, published its findings, and made recommendations both for its own and for others' support programs. Throughout the period when the World Bank was among the strongest advocates of redirecting resources away from higher education and toward basic education, a small but clearly audible voice continued to champion higher education in Africa.[96] In its 1994 effort to draw lessons from its earlier experience, the World Bank outlined what it saw as the major directions for reform: encourage greater differentiation of institutions, including the development of private institutions; modify funding, particularly by providing incentives for public institutions to diversity sources of funding, including new and increased student fees and by linking government funding closely to performance; redefine the role of government in higher education; and introduce policies explicitly designed to give priority to quality and equity objectives.[97]

---

93. Joel Samoff develops this theme in [Samoff, No Teacher Guide 1999], pp. 418-421.

94. Initiated and centered at the World Bank, Donors to African Education brought together funding and technical assistance agencies involved in education in Africa. Its principal operational strategies have been a biennial conference, a set of working groups, including WGHE, and the informal interactions generated by those activities. Each working group has a lead agency, commonly one of the funding and technical assistance organizations active in Africa. For WGHE the World Bank has been the lead agency. Over time, the organization has strengthened the roles of African ministers of education and African participation in working group activities, relocated its secretariat to the International Institute of Educational Planning (UNESCO) in Paris, and changed its name to the Association for the Development of Education in Africa. See http://www.adeanet.org.

95. Donors to African Education, *Newsletter* 7.1 (January–March 1995).

96. See, for example, [Saint, Universities in Africa: Strategies for Stabilization and Revitalization, 1992], summarized p. xii.

97. [World Bank, Higher Education The Lessons of Experience, 1994], p. 4ff. Note that this list—privatization, increased fees, and reduced government role, with quality and equity at the end of list—appeared in many World Bank publications on the entire education sector during this period. Note, too, the obfuscating terminology common in these publications, for example "cost sharing" and "cost recovery" for increased fees even though students' families were already providing the bulk of support for higher education through the levies and taxes on the exports they produced.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The point here is not whether or not we or other observers agree with the World Bank analysis and the resulting recommendations, but rather the assertion that those contemplating academic partnerships should be guided by a strong sense of what higher education in Africa needs specified independently of any particular African (or U.S.) institution.

## The Knowledge Era

Another perspective on external support and academic partnerships derives from the notions that knowledge has become the most important factor of production and that the tools for storing, organizing, and moving information influence how that information is used and by whom. The implications for Africa's universities are dramatic. They should focus less on higher level skills development and more on generating and managing knowledge. Over time, knowledge production is likely to become increasingly dispersed and decentralized, located in many other institutions, large and small, public and private. Universities thus must become facilitators, managers, and perhaps integrators. As this transition unfolds, curriculum, pedagogy, and institutional arrangements will need to change.

Here, too, the important point is not whether or not we agree with this analysis—we remain skeptical of the claims of energetic knowledge evangelists—but rather that those who find this perspective persuasive will use it to orient academic partnerships. The starting point will not be the requests and preferences of African universities or their or outsiders' analyses of the missions and needs of higher education in Africa but rather a sense of how universities must be organized and function in the knowledge era and global knowledge economy. That will guide collaboration in research, curriculum development, pedagogical innovation, and more.

## Starting Points are Not Obvious

Academic partnerships are often serendipitous. Faculty or administrators meet, share pleasantries and ideas, and sometimes think about developing their discussion into a deeper and longer-standing relationship. Occasionally funding possibilities appear, which then become a stimulus to convert informal contacts into a formal link. Only rarely do international academic partnerships result primarily from an orderly and rational planning process, with principles first, surveys of prospective partners second, careful reviews of alternative possibilities third, and only then discussions about the details of a specific partnership.

Still, even when partnerships start with contacts and then proceed to principles rather than the other way around, it is useful to think about what should guide and orient the collaboration. Prospective partners can begin with the expressed goals, objectives, and practices of the African partner. Doing so is not straightforward, since within Africa, within countries, and within particular institutions there are conflicting and often incompatible expectations and preferences. Hence, *whose* preferences are to be taken as the appropriate framework? Alternatively, prospective partners can begin with the goals, objectives, and practices of the U.S. institution. Here, too, there are conflicting and often incompatible concerns. Once again, *whose* sense of what is to be accomplished is to guide the partnership? Prospective partners could also begin with an analysis of what higher education in Africa needs, with less attention to the institutional preferences of the partners.

None of the perspectives we have outlined is unproblematic. All require choices, sometimes among orientations with strong rationales and articulate advocates. All are likely to require compromises among conflicting goals and preferences. The compromises themselves will change over time. That there are viable (and defensible and fundable) alternative courses of action and that many alternatives have credible advocates do not render all paths equally attractive. Some partnership arrangements are quickly problematic, both at home and abroad. More important, even

as they seek to help, some partnership arrangements extend and entrench the very disabilities that make it difficult or impossible for universities in Africa to broaden their access, improve their quality, and become centers of intellectual ferment and engines of knowledge production.

## Academic Partnerships

Partnership has become the *mot du jour* of foreign aid. While the term may have been around a bit longer in academia, it has become required phraseology there too. The two domains are related. Indeed, it turns out that with a few exceptions, much of the interest shown by U.S. higher education institutions for association with similar institutions in Africa is linked to aid-related funding, either in conception or in execution, and often both.

For foreign aid, the terminology reflects both a changing world and persisting critiques of the motivations and practices of those who provide external assistance. Earlier, the guiding construct was philanthropy, combining charity and social responsibility. Support to education was a particularly attractive form of philanthropy, since it held the promise of enabling the poor to help themselves. Support to education became even more attractive as the ideology of aid assumed a more utilitarian character. Although collective responsibility and social guilt remained powerful forces for the advocates of foreign aid, charity was too limiting a construct. The transfer of resources had to be justified in terms of expected impacts.[98] Aid must be seen to contribute to development, however defined. More recently, the terminology has again changed, now with a focus on *partnership*. While many individual aid-supported projects seemed to be directly useful, both providers and recipients found it more difficult to point to unambiguously positive consequences of foreign aid more generally.[99] Why? In part the explanations for the failures of aid highlighted the disempowering nature of the aid relationship. For transferred resources to be used effectively and for aid programs to be sustainable, recipients must assume control. Foreign aid became development cooperation. Providers and recipients became development *partners*. While charity may still be necessary in crisis situations, for example, floods, famine, war, the normal form of aid ought to be collaboration among partners to reach nationally specified goals.[100]

There has been a parallel terminological evolution in academia. In the late colonial era, several African schools and universities were the direct creations, or distant campuses, or proteges of European institutions. It was, and to some extent remains, the responsibility of the European uncle to provide advice, assess results, and assure quality. Referring to the Asquith Colleges, Ajayi, Goma, and Johnson are clear on the nature of support to higher education:

> As such, the University Colleges were viewed as aid or technical assistance from the colonial powers. The University Colleges became part of the status symbols conferred on the new states in anticipation of the granting of political independence and international recognition. Except

---

98. Foreign assistance was and continues to be described in that way—"transfer of resources"—notwithstanding the compelling evidence that the conditions and practices of aid insure that in many, perhaps most, circumstances the flow of resources, human and material as well as fiscal, is not from rich to poor but the other way around. It is with that in mind that we do not use here the term "donors," since some who describe themselves as "donors" are banks that lend money that must be repaid and since they and others may receive more benefits than they provide.

99. Several agencies, and especially the World Bank, have periodically issued upbeat reports on the benefits of foreign aid (for example, World Bank, *Adjustment in Africa Reforms, Results, and the Road Ahead* (New York: Oxford University Press for the World Bank, 1994) and (World Bank, Assessing Aid 1998)). Suffice it to note here that many on both sides of the aid relationship, including senior World Bank and other aid agency staff, remain profoundly skeptical. The critics find unpersuasive both the findings and the methods used to measure and assess outcomes. An important source for critical voices is: http://www.brettonwoodsproject.org.

100. Several countries have issued policy papers explicitly characterizing aid as partnership. See, for example, Netherlands, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Education: A Basic Human Right. Development Cooperation and Basic Education. Policy, Practice and Implementation* (Den Haag: Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2000); Sweden, *Partnership With Africa. Proposals for a New Swedish Policy towards Sub-Saharan Africa. Partnership Africa* (Stockholm: Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 1998), and *The Rights of the Poor—Our Common Responsibility. Combating Poverty in Sweden's Development Cooperation* (Stockholm: Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 1997); Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, *Sida at Work: Sida's Methods for Development Cooperation* (Stockholm: Sida, 1997). See also (Bowles, Authentic NGDO Partnerships 1998); (King and Caddell, Partnership and Poverty 1998).



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

> in a few cases as in Ghana and Sierra Leone, little of the capital cost of the Colleges came from the territorial budgets. Even the recurrent budgets came mostly from abroad.[101]

As African institutions asserted their sovereignty and autonomy, they sought to recast the relationship with their foreign sponsors and mentors. At least rhetorically, the overseas higher education institutions recognized the difference between providing technical assistance and collaborating as equals, for which *partnership* seemed the appropriate term.[102] That term was increasingly embedded in the funding available to U.S. institutions that sought to develop links with Africa. *Partnership* thus has a particular history in the relationships between the U.S. and Africa.

## On the Notion of Partnerships

There are partnerships and there are partnerships. We understand partnership to go beyond technical assistance and external support. To be something other than foreign aid, partnership must involve a collaboration that can reasonably be expected to have mutual (though not necessarily identical) benefits, that will contribute to the development of both institutional and individual capacities at both institutions, that respects the sovereignty and autonomy of both institutions, and that is itself empowering, in that it enables both partners to be better able to specify goals, chart directions, create appropriate governance strategies, employ effective administrative routines, and focus human, material, and financial resources on high priority objectives.[103] We take partnership to involve mutual learning, both in the more limited sense of acquiring and applying relevant information and in the deeper sense of using information to create understandings that permit learners to transform their situation, both locally and more broadly. We understand partnership to be a relationship among fundamental equals whatever their differences in wealth, expertise, experience, and status.

Of course, we are not czars of the terminological terrain. In the contemporary world of aid, everything is a "partnership." So, too, in academia. Even more confusing, the re-labeling is retrospective. What earlier was called aid is now re-labeled partnership. What earlier was described as external guidance, oversight, and validation is now re-characterized as partnership. The research literature does little to reduce the ambiguities.

We touch on definitions here both to orient our own thinking and as a cautionary note to underscore the risk of undertaking analyses and comparisons of very dissimilar relationships and experiences all labeled "partnerships."

That said, our concern here is to fly over the broad terrain of higher education partnerships to provide a composite picture of approaches, strategies, types, and forms. For that aerial view we adopt a pragmatic compromise. We will take as partnership whatever anyone terms as a partnership. Impressed, indeed somewhat overwhelmed by the range and breadth of partnerships, we shall consider what can and does prove problematic in those partnerships.

---

101. (Ajayi, Goma, Johnson, The African Experience, 1996), p. 69.

102. Like countries, universities do not always respect that distinction. While they talk of partnership, the foreign institutions see their role as providing assistance to poorer, less developed, less competent universities. While they have no difficulty indicating what they can contribute to the relationship, when pressed, many find it difficult to specify what they expect to learn from it.

103. Discussions at the Academic Partnerships Conference at Michigan State University considered academic partnerships to be characterized by equality, joint ownership, mutual benefit, democratic participation, and shared responsibility. Academic Partnerships with South Africans For Mutual Capacity Building, Michigan State University, 18–21 October 1998.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

## Actors/Partners

To proceed toward our discussion of links between African and U.S. universities, it is useful to note briefly the range of organizations and institutions that describe their activities as "partnerships" and call themselves "partners."

**Funders** One set of partners are those who provide funding for partnerships. A 1999 survey of funding and technical assistance agencies involved in African higher education listed 32 agencies, of which 29 support institutional linkages.[104] Among the latter were national development aid agencies such as USAID, private foundations, multilateral banks, and others. For example, USAID's University Development Linkage Program (UDLP) was formed in in 1991, to "promote and support long term collaboration between U.S. colleges and universities and developing country institutions of higher education."[105]

**Administering Organizations** Funds from the large institutional partnership programs of the major national agencies are commonly administered by an intermediary agency. For example, USAID's higher education partnership programs are administered by organizations contracted for that purpose, including, for example, the Association Liaison Office for University Cooperation in Development (ALO) and the Africa-America Institute. While these institutions are not themselves funding sources, commonly they play a central role in proposals and selection and thus can influence the content and organization of proposed partnerships and which proposals are funded.

**Cooperating Partners** From universities to scholars, hundreds, perhaps thousands, of institutions and individuals are directly and indirectly involved in academic partnerships. These partners include faculty members, continental and regional higher education organizations, regional research centers (for example, CODESRIA), academic organizations (for example, African Studies Association), and others. While most partnerships involve higher education and research institutions, some private companies (such as Cisco Systems) have also become involved in the implementation (and funding) of partnerships.

## Partnerships: Objectives and Priorities

There are a number of reasons, both explicit and implicit, given for forming partnerships between higher education institutions in affluent and Third World countries. Amidst many similar statements, what emerges strongly are the interests of the key actors. Individual scholars may be interested in partnerships to further their individual research projects, private companies may be interested in increasing the market penetration of their products, whereas higher education institutions may be interested in furthering their international reach.

King argues that for national funding agencies, there is a double role for partnerships in higher education. In the first, agencies rely on higher education institutions to implement bilateral projects, and secondly, it is expected that partnership with African institutions will lead to internationalization of higher education in the aid-providing countries.[106] As the role of higher education in development takes center-stage again in the new knowledge economy, partnerships with higher education institutions have the more ambitious objectives of encouraging economic growth and alleviating poverty by closing the knowledge gap between rich and poor countries.

For overseas higher education institutions, a high priority goal is to internationalize their own activities. Universities increasingly regard themselves and are seen as global institutions. This is especially important in the global higher education market, where internationalization is seen to

---

104. See (ADEA Working Group on Higher Education 1999).

105. (USAID 2002).

106. (King Aid and Higher Education 1992), p. 7.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

provide competitive advantage as universities compete for international scholars and projects. For example, Georgia State University's commitment to international activities reflects "an understanding that a global perspective is essential to achieving institutional quality in today's ever shrinking world."[107] The number of faculty with international experience, the number and type of contracts from international agencies, the number of partnerships, the number of international students, the number of students taking advantage of study abroad programs, the number of foreign languages taught, and so on, all measure the extent of internationalization.[108]

As they internationalize for local reasons, universities also assert the global reach and global responsibility of their activities. Michigan State University has for decades had a strong focus on international activities. Its Office of International Programs dates from 1956, and its involvement in large projects to establish land-grant universities in Nigeria and elsewhere has a parallel history. As it has developed its international links, Michigan State University has recognized the important distinction noted above that is often ignored, both in academia and in the aid business more broadly and that is worth recalling here. The mindset of aid and of many international partnerships is providing technical assistance. Funds, expertise, and advice are presumed to flow from provider to recipient. Partnership, however, presumes interaction. In academia, partnership presumes mutual learning, notwithstanding inequalities of resources, power, and status. Michigan State University insists on distinguishing these two modes of interaction.

> International development no longer means simply providing assistance but rather forging close cooperation and collaboration with partners abroad for mutual benefit.[109]

We have referred to MSU's orientation to highlight policies and practices at a U.S. university with a strong international focus and a carefully delineated notion of academic partnership. There are of course other universities with extensive international activities, and others with hardly any at all. As well, MSU's close connections with the U.S. government have periodically generated sharp criticism and forced the higher education community to consider under what circumstances a university's academic mission, especially its ability to foster unfettered debate and to set its own research agenda, is compromised by blurring the line between the roles of government and academia.

Like other forms of external support mentioned earlier, partnerships are also used to promote the interest, both national and international, of the funders. Most often, collaboration is possible only if the interests of the partner country are congruent with or can accommodate those of the funder. Some agencies, like USAID, make this objective explicit, while others use talk of partnerships to mask their own agenda.

> All linkages are based on implementation of one or more well-defined objectives with time-specific accomplishments for each objective that help to attain and support Mission strategic objectives.[110]

For African universities, the rationales for entering into higher education partnerships are sometimes academic, sometimes strategic, and sometimes financial. Most often, formal statements emphasize the academic links.

---

107. (Office of International Affairs 2002).

108. See, for example, (Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, Beyond Borders 2001) and (Hayward 2000).

109. MSU International Volume 2, Spring 2001. http://www.isp.msu.edu/isp_brochure [2002.09.08].

110. USAID. University Development Linkage Program (UDLP). http://www.usaid.gov/educ_training/udlp.htm [2002.09.08].

> The University of Zambia's rationale for entering into linkages with universities in the North is primarily academic—that is to benefit from the high academic standards and advanced research facilities which are available in the developed universities.[111]

## Overview of external partnerships with higher education in Africa: Links with US higher education institutions

Developing a comprehensive picture of links between African and U.S. higher education institutions is a forbidding challenge. For the present, there is no standard reference source or reporting system with a complete inventory of those links. As well, they change rapidly, rendering any inventory dated as soon as it is completed. Since every institution is potentially an important source of data not available elsewhere, an inclusive effort would require surveying them all. The technical demands of a useful categorization threaten to overwhelm efforts to compile a complete inventory. What, exactly, is a university? What constitutes a partnership? Is participation in a partnership defined by formal agreement, or by funding, or by goals and objectives, or by practices? When do partnerships begin and end? And more.

Accordingly, our overview does not claim to be an exhaustive survey. We have sought to view partnerships through various lenses. First, we summarize information from two databases that were recently developed to track international partnership activities of US institutions. The first database, the International Higher Education Linkages Project (IHELP), was developed by the ALO, an organization established in 1992 to coordinate the collaboration between members of six major higher education associations and USAID in the area of development cooperation.[112] The second database is similar in conception to the IHELP database, but focuses exclusively on links between U.S. and South African institutions, and was developed by the African Studies Center at MSU.[113]

These two databases provide only a snapshot, indeed a partial snapshot, of the partnership landscape. We also secured information from the websites and official documents of the different partners. In the U.S., the most influential funders are USAID and the larger private foundations. Some higher education institutions also fund their own initiatives, and where possible, we will present information that we found. We also were able to find some information on the web sites of a few African universities. We note those too. We are aware that web sites do not provide comprehensive information on partnerships. Indeed, no single source does that. In particular, information on smaller, more informal partnerships is probably not available on the web sites. Reports from conferences that focused on higher education linkages and the small body of literature on these partnerships proved particularly useful[114]. We summarize our findings in the sections below.

---

111. Andrew Siwela, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Zambia, "Discussion Paper," in Willem-Jan de Gast, editor, *Linkages Revisited: Higher Education and Development Cooperation* (The Hague: Nuffic, 1995), p. 201.

112. Participating associations are: American Association of Community Colleges, the American Council on Education, the Office of Minorities in Higher Education, the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities, the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, and the American Association of Universities.

113. For a detailed analysis of the information in this database, see (Whitaker 2002).

114. These conferences include: Development Cooperation in Higher Education (NUFFIC: The Hague, 8-10 May 1985); Commonwealth Experts Meeting (Commonwealth Secretariat: Harare, 23-26 June 1986); Linkages Revisited: Higher education and development cooperation (NUFFIC: The Hague, 16-17 March 1995); Academic Partnerships with South Africans for Mutual Capacity Building (MSU: East Lansing, Michigan, 18-21 October, 1998); and Academic Partnerships USAID UDLP Higher Education Conference (Eastern Washington University and University of Cape Coast, Ghana: Elmina, Ghana, 8-11 February 1999).

### *Partnerships: Patterns and Forms*

Amidst the similarities in their objectives and priorities, partnerships take on a variety of forms. There are differences in the modalities of partnerships (examples are collaborative research, collaborative teaching, and academic exchange), length of partnerships, the scale of collaboration (number of institutions involved, amount of funding), the level of involvement (individual, department, institution-wide), and in the characteristics of partners involved.

Of the partnerships surveyed, we notice that there are favored countries with which US institutions partner, with South Africa the country with which the majority of links are being formed. Of the U.S. institutions, the majority of the links are with Doctoral/Research Universities, even though these institutions form a small minority of U.S. institutions. In contrast, associate (community) colleges, which form the majority of U.S. institutions, have very few links.

## Partnership activities

Almost all academic partnerships involve multiple types of collaborative activities. Most involve some form of collaborative research and academic exchange which typically means student or faculty exchange. Other partnership activities include collaborative teaching, collaborative curriculum development and joint conferences. However, even within these broad categories partnerships differ. For example, collaborative teaching can range from professors' exchange visits to shared teaching responsibilities, to multiple teachers at different campuses co-teaching a course using video-conferencing or another internet technology.

**Collaborative and Externally Funded Research** Research collaboration can take place on all the different levels —individual, faculty, network, and so on. For example, the Harvard AIDS Institute collaborates with researchers and scientists in universities and research institutes in Africa, including the Nelson R. Mandela Medical School at the University of Natal, the College of Health Sciences at Muhimbili University (Tanzania), the University of Botswana, and the Université Cheikh Anta Diop.

**Academic Exchange** Many linkages support academic exchange programs in which faculty members are invited to teach or conduct research at partner institutions. Also popular is a joint education model in which African faculty members undertake graduate study partly in their home country and partly overseas.

**Student Exchange/ Study Abroad** Study abroad programs are one of the most widespread links between institutions in Africa and the U.S. Some of these programs, especially those that involve student exchanges rather than simply study abroad, may have an explicit reciprocal relationship. For example, Brown University has student exchange programs in Tanzania, Ethiopia, and Egypt.[115]

**Support for regional partnerships** Although our focus here is not on regional partnerships, some regional partnerships are supported by external funding and technical assistance agencies. One example of a regional partnership that is funded by external agencies is the University Science, Humanities, and Engineering Partnership in Africa (USHEPiA). Based at the University of Cape Town, USHEPIA provides sandwich graduate programs in which participants are jointly supervised by their home university and UCT. Linking eight universities in East and Southern Africa, the partnership has received funds from many U.S. foundation including Rockefeller Foundation, Carnegie Corporation, and Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

**ICT Initiatives** Another important trend in the last few decades that has influenced partnership activities is the growth in information and communication technologies (ICT). These new

115. See http://www.brown.edu/Administration/OIP/files/programs/ethiopia/.

technologies have opened up modes of collaboration that were previously not possible. Many current partnerships incorporate ICTs in their design. Distance education, curriculum development, and library support all provide fertile ground for the incorporation of these technologies.

In distance education we see the establishment of a number of virtual universities that employ a variant of the franchise model to provide tertiary education to Africa using a combination of information technologies (satellite, internet, video-conferencing, and others). Two of the largest that collaborate with African institutions are the African Virtual University (AVU) and the Université Virtuelle Francophone (UVF). AVU has recently signed an agreement to collaborate with RMIT University in Melbourne, Australia, to deliver degree and diploma courses in Computer Science.[116] As part of this agreement, degrees will be awarded by RMIT during the first few years of the program.

The Curriculum Co-Development (CCD) project provides one example of an innovation that uses the new technologies to develop curriculteach collaboratively. Developed at Tufts University in partnership with University of Dar es Salaam and Makerere University, this initiative engages undergraduates in international relations at the partner institutions in a jointly developed and jointly taught courses. This is a fairly new concept in which two or more campus-based courses that are linked by a common theme and a shared learning goal are taught jointly through a mixture of overlapping readings and interactive web site exercises designed to involve students at distant universities, while each faculty member and institution retains control over its courses.[117]

Finally, a number of digital library projects have been initiated in Africa. One model seeks to provide better access for African scholars and libraries to the vast array of online research publications available outside Africa. Examples of this approach are the AVU digital library[118] and the African Digital Library.[119] Another model seeks to provide better access to African scholarly material globally. One example is the African e-Journals project which will allow African journal publishers to disseminate their journals online to foreign users who will pay a subscription fee to the publisher.[120] Access for African scholars will be free.

## Scale of Collaboration

Partnerships differ in the level at which they are formed, the volume of funding required, and the expected results. Reviewing linkages at Eduardo Mondlane University in Mozambique, Matos noted that partnerships can be formed at the level of the university as a whole, at the level of faculty, department or section and, at the individual scholar level. In addition many partnerships now include inter-university links that involve northern universities and networks of northern and African institutions.[121] Of course, these categories are fluid. At any one time, an African university can be involved in some or all of these partnership arrangements.

The level at which the partnership is formed influences the degree to which activities are planned, coordinated, and implemented. Matos found that university level partnerships are flexible, but commonly lack support at lower levels and are less likely to secure funding.

---

116. (RMIT University 2002).

117. A full description of this project can be found in (Aymer, Robinson, et al. 2002) and (Robinson, Metacourse 2001).

118. The AVU digital library provides free access to research materials from online journal to its partner institutions. http://www.avu.org/section/library.cfm.

119. The African Digital Library, based in South Africa, provides free online access to more than 3000 online text-books to African residents http://africaeducation.org/adl/Default.htm.

120. This project is collaboration between the Association of African Universities, the African Studies Association in the United States, the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, and Michigan State University.

121. (Matos 1995), p. 181.

Partnerships between faculties or departments, and between individuals are more easily implemented, but are more fragmented and do not contribute much to institution building. Broad inter-university linkages can be better for institution building, but have high overhead costs and are dependent on the rules and regulations of funding agencies. Network partnerships, while important for cooperation between partners in Africa are highly dependent on foreign funding, and require extensive coordination.[122]

## Funding

The funding picture is more uneven. Many do not report any funding information, while others report multiple sources. USAID appears to be a major funding source, although the high proportion of funding from USAID may not be significant, since the IHELP database which captured funding information was created by the ALO, which administers funds provided by USAID for university partnerships. High proportion of USAID funding may also reflect USAID sponsorship of several different programs aimed at providing support for higher education in developing countries. These programs include the University Development Linkages Project (UDLP), the Tertiary Education Linkages Project (TELP), International Development Linkages (IDP), the Higher Education Partnership for Development (HEPD), and the Advanced Training For Leadership and Skills (ATLAS). Of these UDLP, TELP, and HEPD had a specific focus on partnerships with developing countries institutions. Another program, Collaborative Research Support Program (CSRP) was intended to encourage U.S. Land-grant universities to work with developing country institutions in areas of agricultural research.[123]

But academic partnerships receive funds from many sources. Funding amounts can be small or large, and the modalities of funding vary. While some institutions receive external funding for their partnership activities, others support these initiatives themselves, often as part of their internationalization activities. Many university study abroad programs charge fees that are as high as those incurred by U.S. students studying at their home universities. Students who receive financial aid may be able to apply it to their year abroad. Some are student-exchange programs, and not infrequently, as with the exchange program between University of Missouri and the University of Ghana and University of the Western Cape, the tuition fee is waived for full-time students from Africa..[124] Fund-matching schemes are becoming increasingly popular. In the UDLP program, funds from USAID are regarded as seed money, and institutions that are awarded grants are required to secure matching funds from their own resources or from other non-governmental sources.

## Troubled Voices

For the purposes of this overview, we have been assuming that partnerships between African and U.S. universities are both desirable and desired. Clearly, that is not always the case. At the first level, as a senior Zambian official noted, applying the term "partnership" to a relationship among unequals in power, authority, and wealth can be a polite euphemism that obscures the inequalities and the differential benefits from the association. It would make for a more clear-cut and realistic assessment of the situation, he argued, if foreign aid were called just

122. (Matos 1995), p. 186.

123. (Why CRSPs? Historical Perspectives and U.S. Government Policies 2002).

124. From the website of International Center at University of Missouri (International Center 2002).

that.[125] Beyond the obfuscating terminology, other critiques are many and often sharp. The U.S. partner receives most of the money. The availability and use of resources are secretive and far from transparent. The U.S. partner makes or controls the principal decisions, from conception through design and implementation. The African partner has little say over starting, transition, and ending points. Curricular and pedagogical innovations originate in the U.S. and are often quite inappropriate to the African setting. The locus of decision making renders the partnership disempowering and unsustainable. Partnerships are generally extractive, in that information, knowledge, and often personnel move from Africa to the U.S., primarily to the benefit of the U.S. Where books, equipment, and other materials are sent to Africa, they are often outdated or used beyond their design life or unsuitable for the African context. We shall return to these critiques below. Some universities have adopted ethical guidelines for their partnerships. Those of Michigan State University are included in the Appendices, p. 57.

## Partnerships, Partnerships

Having explored the early history of external support to higher education in Africa and the current context for cooperation, we set out in this section to review academic partnerships between African and U.S. universities. To make the review as comprehensive as possible, where appropriate we have touched on other activities labeled partnerships. As we have noted, much of foreign aid, involving international organizations, governments, and NGOs, is now called "partnership" even where it differs little from the aid and technical assistance of an earlier era.

Gathering relevant data proved an extraordinary challenge. It was straightforward to find examples of the wide range of academic partnerships and of their different modes and funding. A comprehensive inventory, however, remains beyond our reach. There has apparently been very little research on an approach and set of activities—academic partnerships—that are widely described as highly desirable and supportive of the development of higher education in Africa and that periodically secure substantial funding. In the absence of a central, reliable, and regularly updated registry, using commonly accepted and standardized categories, a comprehensive inventory would require a detailed survey of a very decentralized set of decision points and funding sources. Not only among universities but often within them—our own institution is no exception—there may be no one with sufficient information to paint a full picture. A similar survey would be required in Africa. As well, energetic and entrepreneurial universities and their faculties, departments, and academic staff, seek to develop partnerships that may be only partially responsive or even known to their universities.

Our approach has necessarily involved several strategies for gathering relevant data. To supplement the limited published literature, we have scoured reports, conference proceedings, evaluations, and other unpublished materials. We have drawn heavily on online databases, with are primarily concerned with government funded partnerships (broadly construed). We have drawn as well on the work of several organizations and institutions especially concerned with higher education in Africa, including the Social Science Research Council and the Education Policy Unit of the University of the Western Cape. Since it was not possible to undertake a direct survey, we sampled university web sites and talked with colleagues. Particularly frustrating has been the paucity of information from Africa on Africa-U.S. academic partnerships.

It is clear that academic partnerships occur at multiple levels, often beginning with informal contacts among academic staff. That those contacts commonly occur at conferences or seminars or during the course of an academic exchange suggests the importance of those strategies for fostering interaction among African academics and their U.S. counterparts. Most, though not

125. Ben Mweene then Director, Higher Educational Planning, Research and Development, Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology, Lusaka, Zambia in (Veile 1989).

all, of the larger partnership arrangements are dependent on external funding, which comes primarily from government and from a few foundations with an extended history of support to higher education. Research collaboration may be the most widespread form of academic partnership, though not the most visible. Generally organized on a modest scale, research collaboration is apparently not the principal focus of the largest grants to support university partnerships. Academic exchanges, involving academic staff, students, and administrators, are common in partnerships and highly valued by those who report on them. Programs that enable U.S. students to study and travel in Africa, which may but often do not involve explicit university partnerships, are widespread and may directly affect the largest number of students. The available literature suggests their quality varies widely and may be inconsistent even within particular programs. Most, though far from all, academic partnerships with Africa involve a small number of elite U.S. universities that have extensive research programs and that offer graduate degrees. Most active in Africa–U.S. academic partnerships are the even smaller number of U.S. universities with formal African Studies programs. Occasionally a political initiative increases the role and prominence of other institutions, though they remain in the minority in the multiple meanings of that term. While many African universities are involved in partnerships of one sort or another, a few have received the bulk of external attention and funds. Academic partnerships that involve and provide funds for South–South collaboration are apparently much less common in the U.S. than in Europe.

We had hoped to be able to talk knowledgeably about effectiveness and efficiency in academic partnerships. The paucity of systematic, comparative, and critical research and evaluation renders all observations in that regard preliminary, partial, cautious, and circumstantially contingent. The institutional factors most widely cited as supportive of effective academic partnerships include: prior history of partnerships; ease of communications between the partners; clarity on expectations and intended benefits; strong faculty support for partnerships; flexibility; and willingness to continue the partnership over a long term in order to work out and modify the responsibilities and modalities of the partnership. Where either institution sees the partnership primarily as a way to generate external funding, it is likely to remain just that. Where direct academic staff involvement is limited, it proves more difficult, perhaps impossible, to secure the engagement and commitment (the common terminology is "buy-in") that enable the partnership to adapt to changing circumstances and to endure. At the same time, extensive faculty involvement does not itself assure institutional commitment, especially over the longer term. Aware of the possibilities of generating additional revenue and securing international recognition, African universities are motivated to seek multiple overseas partnerships, to accept partnership proposals that may not address their high priority needs (or any needs at all), and to limit their commitment to any particular partnership since it may be modified or terminated for reasons and in circumstances beyond their control.

The available literature offers little evidence of sequels. For energetic institutions, new partnership projects may follow previous efforts, sometimes with the same universities. But we found only a few reports of academic partnerships or even significant sustained informal collaboration that persisted well beyond the completion of the original partnership initiative and its funding. Very rare, apparently, have been the U.S. institutions willing to invest their own resources to continue a partnership beyond its initial external funding. While the large scale foundation efforts to shape higher education in Africa apparently have had enduring effects, we did not find significant evidence of curricular, pedagogical, research, or institutional innovations at African universities that resulted from an academic partnership and that persisted beyond its completion. Institution building and infrastructural development may have occurred, but that has not been well documented and may in any case have resulted less from the content, objectives, and activities of academic partnerships than from the infusion of external resources that accompanied them. The available literature has essentially nothing to say about innovations and transformations at U.S. universities that resulted from their African partnerships.

Although academic partnerships have linked U.S. and African institutions over the past four decades, they apparently did not protect African universities from the pressure to reduce spending and the redirection of funds toward basic education. The potentially influential advocacy role was more visible in extreme circumstances (for example, protests against the termination or incarceration of African staff and students) and in individual cases (invitations to particular African academics to participate in meetings or research projects or visit U.S. universities). The current renewed interest in higher education in Africa seems to have expanded individual and institutional interest in academic partnerships. Whether that will be associated with stronger and more widespread advocacy for African higher education is not yet clear.

## CHALLENGES OF PARTNERSHIP

Many institutions, many links, many programs, many forms, many outcomes! The range is enormous, and when resources are available, apparently growing. Prospective partners in the U.S. of all sorts—larger and smaller, richer and poorer, urban and rural, black and white, secular and denominational, more humanist and more scientific—a plethora of possibilities that would seem to provide to Africa both choice and maneuvering room. Indeed, with many other possible partners in Europe and Asia, many eager to establish and fund connections in Africa, African higher education institutions should, it would seem, be able to develop the sorts of links they deem most useful. What, then, is the problem? Although the exchange floor may have some slippery spots and a frenzied pace, why be concerned about partnerships at all?

### Hopes and Expectations

Let us begin with aspirations.

Why the apparently expanding interest in academic partnerships between the U.S. and Africa? Articulated explanations reflect the hopes for partnerships. While they are expressed in different ways, often reflecting the circumstances and cultures within which a partnership agreement is proposed and negotiated, the major rationales fall into several clusters. First, *learning and the production of knowledge are a shared enterprise*. Notwithstanding the brilliance and achievement of individual scholars, the development of knowledge is commonly understood to require multiple initiatives and efforts, exchanges of findings, analyses, and interpretations, and an accumulation of understandings influenced by accepted earlier knowledge. Those exchanges may be more or less friendly, more or less organized, and more or less fruitful. Whatever their problems, the development of knowledge cannot proceed without them.

Second, as access to instantaneous global communication has expanded, *international interactions not only enrich but are essential to higher education*. To achieve their educational objectives, staff and students at higher education institutions must know about distant settings. That knowing includes not only discrete information about those settings, but also the values, assumptions, orientations, approaches, methodologies, priorities, and more that frame questions and shape understandings. Increasingly U.S. institutions have recognized the importance of incorporating an international dimension into their curriculum, instruction, and research.

Third, *academic partnerships can bring material benefits to one or both partners*. By securing external funding, the U.S. institution may be reimbursed for expenses and receive a fee for services. Payments for specific activities (for example, student tuition fees paid by students or acquisition and maintenance of equipment paid by a funding organization) may contribute to institutional revenue. With much lower salary levels and sharply constrained budgets, African institutions may find that academic partnerships are a very significant source of income. Some partnership arrangements permit that income to be used for a broad range of activities, some only loosely or indirectly associated with the partnership itself. Note that while the material

beneficiaries may be the institutions as a whole, it is common for a smaller unit—faculty or school, department, or research center or project—to have the most direct and greatest benefits. Indeed, some partnership agreement may result in what is effectively a transfer of resources from the institution to one of its units, for example, through reassignment of personnel, or the provision of administrative or technical support, or a direct allocation for new activities required by the partnership.

Fourth, *academic partnership can increase the visibility, influence, and activities of a particular unit of a higher education institution.* Within U.S. institutions, for example, area studies centers may strengthen their position and increase their institutional leverage through their African partnerships, especially if those links generate institutional revenue and/or bring to the campus respected researchers, educators, and political officials. Similarly, faculties or departments in African institutions can become more prominent and more powerful through their associations with U.S. institutions.

## Frustrations and Problems

The promise of mutual benefits and increased funding are of course not the entire story. Africa–U.S. academic partnerships can also be very problematic. As we said at the outset, there are partnerships and there are partnerships. Africa's choices are constrained, often sharply. The extent of the external interest can be more overwhelming than liberating, more distracting than constructive. Most important, international higher education partnerships may create more problems than they solve.

To encourage the discussion of partnerships in both Africa and the U.S., let us touch briefly on several sorts of problems already encountered and on the horizon. It is useful to concentrate here on problems rooted in the conception, organization and implementation of academic partnerships. Since in general U.S.–African academic partnerships have more impact on the African than on the U.S. institution, we shall highlight problematic consequences for the African partners. To focus discussion on broader themes, we will not be concerned with what might be the technical problems of academic partnerships: working within the constraints of differing academic calendars, recognizing and accrediting student work at distant institutions, incorporating within a partnership agreement sharp differences in costs (including salaries), managing and disbursing funds, meeting formal reporting and accounting requirements, assuring regular and reliable communication, and more.

### *Initiative, authority, and accountability*

Amidst the language of mutual benefits, U.S.–African academic partnerships often seem particularly one-sided. In part that has to do with sources of funds and responsibility for allocating them. Where the funds come significantly from the U.S. partner, or under a contract negotiated or managed by the U.S. partner, the practice of the partnership is likely to be especially sensitive to the needs and interests of the funds-controlling partner. That tilt is compounded when it is the U.S. partner that has conceived and initiated the partnership. While there may have been subsequent extensive discussions with the African partner, the initial conception matters. The final form of the partnership is likely to reflect more fully the interests and expectations present from conception. Similarly, where conception was not a joint enterprise and where controlling funds is not a shared responsibility, accountability too is likely to be one-sided.

At the extreme, academic partnerships can become programs of U.S. institutions tolerated by African institutions for a fee. The rhetoric of mutual benefit is overwhelmed by the one-sidedness of partnerships in practice.

### *Entrenching international inequalities*

The starting point for Africa–U.S. academic partnerships is an expectation of *mutual* benefit. It is in large part for that reason that it is essential to distinguish between technical assistance (U.S. institutions provide support of various sorts to African universities within a framework that may be labeled "partnership") and partnership (a mutually beneficial relationship whose operation generates benefits for both partners, notwithstanding the differences and perhaps inequalities of their roles). A major stated goal of Africa–U.S. academic partnerships is to reduce the inequalities between institutions and between scholars and scholarship in the two settings. In practice, the outcome may be just the opposite. That can happen in many ways. The ethos of the partnership may reinforce the notion of U.S. superiority in all of the measures that academia deems important, from the quality of instruction to the prestige of journals to credibility of particular approaches and methods to the idioms and preferred jargon of academic discourse to specific pedagogies to the values embedded in the roles of professor, researcher, dean, librarian, technician, learner, and student. Material benefits may flow unequally toward the U.S. partner, even after adjustments for its generally higher cost structure. The U.S. partner may insist on retaining authority for making major decisions or require its and only its approval for all decisions. New ventures, including both research and instruction, may be initiated by the U.S. partner or within the U.S. institution, thereby limiting the influence of the African partner over orientation and activities for the life of the partnership. Academic partnerships may facilitate the movement of senior scholars and promising researchers to U.S. institutions, with no corresponding movement, either shorter or longer term, in the other direction. At the same time, academic partnerships may make it relatively easy for U.S. students to study in Africa without a corresponding effort to enable African students to study in the U.S.

These inequalities may also have broader developmental consequences.

> Africa, like any other continent, needs institutions for "unapplied" teaching, learning, reflection and research. This is particularly so because of the powerful and intensifying imbalance in the production and application of knowledge that exists between Africa and the North, and the corresponding sense of technological, intellectual and cultural dependence that can only be addressed if the continent has the facilities and the incentives to encourage her best thinkers to design appropriate paths. The conduct of basic research and the opportunity for original thought are in the last resort the only means by which societies can take control of their destiny. Such a function is not a luxury that can be dispensed with for a period, pending better economic times, but an integral part of the development process itself.[126]

It is certainly possible to design academic partnerships to address the risk that they will entrench inequalities to the disadvantage of Africa. We continue to look for partnerships where that has been done and where this problem has effectively been avoided.

### *Promoting differentiation within African institutions*

Karim Hirji has written bitingly of "The Link."[127] Within an African institution several departments receive substantial foreign funding, commonly in the context of academic partnership agreements. Those departments then have up-to-date computers, portable telephones, photocopiers, and other equipment, adequate stationery and supplies, vehicles, and opportunities for their students and staff to study and travel overseas. Departments without international academic partnerships must operate within a perennially penurious university budget, which results in aging and often inadequately maintained equipment, printers and copiers with exhausted

126. (Court, Landscape of External Support 1995), p. 3.

127. (Hirji, Academic Pursuits).



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

toner cartridges, and a starkly limited ability to enable staff and students to participate in international conferences or seek overseas education. Those inequalities within the institution reflect to some extent the initiative and imagination of particular departments but more the interests and preferences of overseas partners. Every department searches actively for partnerships with overseas universities. Dependence on these foreign links becomes endemic. That differentiation may not at all reflect the priorities of the institution or the national government. Where academic partnership agreements impose obligations on the institution, they may impede or render impossible local efforts to reallocate resources among units. At the extreme, university units may become so identified with their patrons that they are known as the German faculty of engineering or the Dutch department of obstetrics or the British center for research on comparative literature.

Should departments in African higher education institutions be barred from negotiating academic partnerships because they might contribute to institutional differentiation? Surely not. Should there be rewards for forging those partnerships? Probably so. Should academic partnership agreements be sensitive to the ways in which they promote differentiation within African institutions? We think so.

## *Shaping institutional priorities and practices*

Where "The Link" becomes the pattern, and where the resources involved are substantial, academic partnerships may come to have a much broader impact on institutional policies, priorities, and practices within Africa. As we have suggested, units with strong or multiple partners may become so well endowed or so well protected that they can effectively resist institutional reform efforts, especially those that would reduce their resources, or influence, or autonomy. Where academic partnerships enable faculty to have computers, cars, and cell phones, and to travel internationally, the usual academic reward system becomes ineffective. Participating in academic partnerships may be more important than promotions and (very small) salary increases. Consequently, chairs, deans, and rectors find it more difficult to influence faculty behavior.

It is of course possible that the U.S. partners may regard these changes in usual institutional practice as very desirable. From an external perspective, it may seem highly desirable to free active, or enterprising, or imaginative, or effective individuals and units from local constraints. In some circumstances, perhaps that is defensible. At the same time, African institutions must be able to set objectives and organize themselves to achieve them. Ultimately, African institutions must be capable of initiating and sustaining reform. Ultimately, African institutions must be responsible for determining where, when, and how external links fit into their overall operations. From that perspective, academic partnerships that function to undermine governance are problematic.

The issues here have to do with setting priorities and defining goals, both for the academic partnership and for the larger institutions, with ownership and accountability, and with developing both individual and institutional capacities.

## *Education and the State*

Though space does not permit a full exploration of the intersecting issues, it is important to think briefly about the relationship between higher education and the state.[128] Universities in Africa were created and for the most part continue to be public institutions under direct

128. Though it is clumsy, with great reluctance we adopt here the common usage of treating "state" and "government" synonymously. We are of course aware of the important analytic reasons for distinguishing the two constructs and the rich literature that does so. Elsewhere we do as well. At the same time, since we are unable to enter very far into that literature, it is reasonable to use the terms common in writing about partnerships in order to talk about the relationship between government (state) and higher education.

government control. That government role is likely to continue. Even where private institutions emerge and become more prominent, the government will retain authority over the framework within which they operate and perhaps even over the details of curriculum, courses of instruction, certification, and the like. Hence, government preferences, and more broadly, the organization of power and the structure of the state, are an important part of the environment for academic partnerships.

With few exceptions, the state is inclined to set a fundamentally conservative agenda for education. Maintaining economic, political, and social relations are more important than innovation and critique, especially when innovation and critique threaten, or are perceived to threaten the national political economy, the tenure of office holders, or even relations among groups in the society. Transmitting culture and cultural values to new generations is more important than exploring how culture and values change and contributing to, perhaps even accelerating, those changes. Staffing the current economy is more important than experimenting with ideas, representations, voices, and roles. The state agenda is a given of university life. That is so even when universities, and some in government, recognize that to fulfill that agenda requires a level of critique and dissonance at first glance (and perhaps more deeply) at odds with that agenda. All of that to recall that the state is an important force in higher education and that relationships between the state and universities will periodically be troubled, perhaps unfriendly.

As well, many, perhaps most academic partnerships, and some African universities, depend on external funding. Formally, that external funding is foreign aid. Consequently academic partnerships become linked to state-to-state relations between the U.S. and African countries. On the African side, there is continuing concern that universities appear to have, or to want to have, their own foreign policy, more or less independent of national foreign policy and only indirectly guided or controlled by the foreign ministry. On the U.S. side, dependence on government funding to support partnerships enmeshes both the unit receiving the funding and the institution as a whole in government policies and programs that may well prove problematic. For example, the current government pressure on U.S. universities to provide education and training for the defense and intelligence establishments can be and at many institutions is sharply at odds with policies governing direct links with military and intelligence agencies. As well, a government decision to initiate or terminate foreign aid to a particular county, taken for reasons distant from academic exchanges, may have strong consequences for university partnerships.

The government role is also critical in determining who pays, or who pays in what proportion, for higher education. The government does that directly by through the use of public resources and through setting tuition fees. Influences are also indirect, for example, through scholarship and loan programs, through allocations to secondary education, through the tax structure, and more.

Hence, notwithstanding the periodically strident calls for a reduced state role in Africa, since the state needs higher education and since higher education needs the state, the state role will remain prominent. As well, effective participation in the global political economy also requires a strong state.

> Adjustment programmes use debt repayment to substitute regulation by international agencies for that by the local state. What 'globalization' means for Africa is the subordination of its states and economies to the rules of capital accumulation set not just by markets but also by the core states. . . . the ability to confront the internationalization of capital is still a question of state capacity and the need is for 'building state capacity rather than discarding it.'[129]

For partnerships, there are challenges on both continents. African universities want to be developmental but require autonomy to do so effectively. Put somewhat differently, African

129. (Bush and Szekel, Globalization 1998), p. 177, quoting (Weiss, Globalization 1997).

universities seek to find a manageable compromise between their obligation to address societal needs and their need for protected space for reflection and critique, both to support their own academic mission and to meet societal needs. That worries the state, periodically sufficiently to intervene. As we have noted, the government is also apprehensive about universities that claim to have their own foreign relations, which may or may not be fully congruent with national foreign policy and its implementation. U.S. universities want to do good in Africa. At first glance, that calls for support to the government in its development effort. But the U.S. institution may see the government as itself a problem and thus seek either to avoid it or to support Africans who challenge their own government. Either way, the African state, and through its foreign ministry, perhaps the U.S. state, becomes unhappy with the U.S. institution, which may depend on U.S. government funding, perhaps directly for the partnership and certainly for other activities.

Healthy partnerships must recognize these issues and deal with them explicitly. Like their larger institutions, partnerships must insist that some autonomy is required to reach all other goals, even when that autonomy leads to discomforting situations. Most important and most difficult to address, partnerships must understand that maintaining a commitment to critical research, innovative teaching, and responsive public service may, and periodically will, lead universities, both U.S. and African, to be in conflict with one or both governments, which may then have other consequences to be addressed.

## *Continuities of Dependence*

The modern history of African universities began with dependence, formally institutionalized in the links between European universities and subordinate institutions in Africa. Since then, much of the relationship between universities in Africa and those termed their overseas partners has combined the rhetoric of development, closing the gap, protecting national initiatives, capacity building, and empowerment with the practice of continued dependence. Initiative, oversight, and validation remained largely external.

That dependence seemed to lessen in the energy and excitement of the immediate post-colonial era. As we have noted, initiatives in Africa captured the attention and admiration of scholars around the world. Dynamic debates within higher education were increasingly Africa-oriented and Africa-focused and decreasingly driven by the disciplines and discourses of their overseas counterparts. Though they were listening to and watching the flow of events overseas, African academics were less often following and accommodating.

Just as economic and financial crisis threatened national development plans and constrained national courses of action, so too it reinforced external direction within higher education. As structural adjustment became the order of the day, universities too found that access to (rapidly declining) funds was dependent on reorganizing in accord with externally set priorities and agendas.

Intellectual dependence is maintained in several ways. At the broadest level, the global system of academic recognition—especially, publication, invitations to professional seminars and conferences, and research grants—is controlled outside Africa. At a very deep level, external influences on the intellectual structure and priorities of African universities continue to be profound and often unrecognized: what constitutes high quality social science research? what is the appropriate balance between curative and preventive medical education? what is the recognized corpus for comparative literature or music or poetry? to what extent should legal education focus on cooperatives or conflict resolution, or the social consequences of constitutions and laws? In immediate and practical terms, external influences are once again directly visible in the increasing use of curriculum developed and packaged overseas, for which the most recent but not sole examples are web based units and modules.

Partnerships thus face the challenge of deciding whether to be pat of the continuities of dependence—which, to use the current terminology, seems to be the default—or to recognize the problem and address it actively. Confronting the contiguities of dependence will surely be discomforting on both sides of the ocean. Since maintaining that dependence is important to powerful forces, challenging it can be threatening to academic partners and to their institutions.

## References


Ajayi, J. F. A. *The American factor in the development of higher education in Africa* (Los Angeles, African Studies Center University of California: 1988)

Ajayi, J. F. Ade, Lameck K. H. Goma, and G. Ampah Johnson. *The African Experience with Higher Education* (Accra, London, Athens, OH: Association of African Universities, James Currey, Ohio University Press, 1996)

Altbach, Philip G. "Patterns in Higher Education Development: Toward the Year 2000," in Robert F. Arnove, Philip G. Altbach, and Gail P. Kelly, editors, *Emergent Issues in Education: Comparative Perspectives* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), pp. 39-55.

Association for the Development of African Education, *Formulating Education Policy: Lessons and Experiences from sub-Saharan Africa* (Paris: Association for the Development of African Education, 1996).

Association of African Universities and World Bank. *Revitalizing Universities in Africa* (Washington: World Bank, 1997).

Biervliet, Wim. "Higher education-business partnerships: the dilemma of competitiveness and equity," in Lene Buchert and Kenneth King, editors. *Learning from Experience: Policy and Practice in Aid to Higher Education* (The Hague: Center for the Study of Education in Developing Countries, 1995).

Brock-Utne, Birgit. "Education Policies for Sub-Saharan Africa as Viewed by the World Bank: A Critical Analysis of World Bank Report No. 6934," in *Education in Africa: Education for Self-Reliance or Recolonization?* (Oslo: Universitetet I Oslo, Pedagogist Forskningsinstitutt, Rapport No. 3, 1993).

Brock-Utne, Birgit, and Tove Nagel, editors, *The Role of Aid in the Development of Education For All* (Oslo: University of Oslo, Institute for Educational Research, Report No. 8, 1996).

Buchert, Lene. "Education and Development: A Study of Donor Agency Policies on Education in Sweden, Holland and Denmark," *International Journal of Educational Development* 14,2 (1994):143-157.

Buchert, Lene, editor. *Education Reform in the South in the 1990s* (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1998), pp. 325-336.

Buchert, Lene. *Recent Trends in Education Aid: Towards a Classification of Policies* (Paris: UNESCO, International Institute for Educational Planning, 1995).

Buchert, Lene, and Kenneth King, editors. *Learning from Experience: Policy and Practice in Aid to Higher Education* (The Hague: Center for the Study of Education in Developing Countries, 1995).

Carr, Stuart C., Rose Chipande, and Malcolm MacLachlan. "Expatriate Aid Salaries in Malawi: A Doubly Demotivating Influence?" *International Journal of Educational Development* 18,2(March 1998): 133-143.

Commonwealth Secretariat. *International development programmes in higher education* (London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 1989).

Commonwealth Secretariat and C. Coombe. *International development programmes in higher education : a report to the Commonwealth Standing Committee on student mobility and higher education co-operation* (London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 1989).

Court, David. "The Challenge to the Liberal Vision of Universities in Africa," in Lene Buchert and Kenneth King, editors. *Learning from Experience: Policy and Practice in Aid to Higher Education* (The Hague: Centre for the Study of Education in Developing Countries, 1995), pp. 109-121.

Court, David. *Financing Higher Education in Africa: Makerere, the Quiet Revolution* (World Bank and Rockefeller Foundation, 2000).

Court, David. "The Landscape of External Support to the Social Sciences and Humanities in Africa: The Perspective of a Small Donor Agency" (Stockholm: paper prepared for the SAREC-SIDA workshop on Supporting the Social Sciences and the Humanities in African Universities, 1995).

de Gast, Willem-Jan, editor. *Linkages Revisited: Higher Education and Development Cooperation* (The Hague: Nuffic, 1995).

Donors to African Education. *Newsletter* 7,1 (January–March 1995).

Evans, David R., editor, *Education Policy Formation in Africa: A Comparative Study of Five Countries* (Washington: U.S. Agency for International Development, 1994).

Fowler, Alan F. "Authentic NGDO Partnerships in the New Policy Agenda for International Aid: Dead End or Light Ahead?" *Development and Change* 29,1(January 1998):137-159.

Goedegebuure, Leo, Frans Kaiser, Peter Maassen, Lynn Meek, Frans van Vught, and Egbert de Weert, editors. *Higher Education Policy: An International Comparative Perspective* (London: Pergamon, 1994).

Gove, Samuel K., and Thomas M. Stauffer, editors. *Policy Controversies in Higher Education* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986).

Gulbenkian Commission on the Restructuring of the Social Sciences. *Open the Social Sciences Report of the Gulbenkian Commission on the Restructuring of the Social Sciences* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996).

Hess, Jürgen, and Trywell Kalusopa. "Challenges of Building Educational Research Capacity in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Case of the School of Education, University of Zambia," in Lene Buchert, editor, *Education Reform in the South in the 1990s* (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1998), pp. 325-336.

Hirji, Karim F."Academic Pursuits under the Link," *Codesria Bulletin* 1(1990):9-14,16.

Kater, A. "Co-operation between universities in rich and poor countries," in A. Hetland and Nordic Association for the Study of Education in Developing Countries, editors, *Universities and national development* (Stockholm, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1984).

King, Kenneth, and Martha Caddell, editors. *Partnership and Poverty in Britain and Sweden's New Aid Policies.* (Edinburgh: Centre of African Studies, Edinburgh University, 1998).

Lovbraek, A. "Experience and Future Prospects for North-South University Co-operation," in A. Hetland and Nordic Association for the Study of Education in Developing Countries, editors, *Universities and national development* (Stockholm, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1984).

Mamdani, Mahmood. "University Crisis and Reform: A Reflection on the African Experience," *Review of African Political Economy* 58(1993):7-19.

Mamdani, Mahmood, and Mamadou Diouf. *Academic Freedom in Africa* (Dakar: Codesria, 1994).

Maxwell, I. C. M. "Fostering Inter-University Links: Reflections on Experiences and Prospects for Future," in A. Hetland and Nordic Association for the Study of Education in Developing Countries, editors, *Universities and national development* (Stockholm, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1984).

McGinn, Noel, editor. *Crossing Lines: Research and Policy Networks for Developing Country Education* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996).

McGinn, Noel. "The Implications of Globalisation for Higher Education," in Lene Buchert and Kenneth King, editors. *Learning from Experience: Policy and Practice in Aid to Higher Education* (The Hague: Centre for the Study of Education in Developing Countries, 1995), pp. 77-92.

Mkandawire, Thandika. "The Social Sciences in Africa: Breaking Local Barriers and Negotiating International Presence," *African Studies Review* 40,2 (September 1997), 15-36.

Mundy, Karen. "Educational Multilateralism and World (Dis)order," *Comparative Education Review* 42,4(November 1998):448-478.

Namuddu, Katherine, and Sibry J. M. Tapsoba. Renforcement des Capacités de Recherche en Éducation et d'Analyse des Politiques en Afrique Subsaharienne: Problématique et Orientations. Document de Synthèse (Paper prepared for the Working Group on the Creation and Reinforcement of Education Research Capacity in Sub-Saharan Africa. Donors to African Education and the International Development Research Centre, 1994).

Netherlands. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Education: A Basic Human Right. Development Cooperation and Basic Education: Policy, Practice and Implementation* (Den Haag: Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2000).

Neave, Guy, and Frans A. van Vught, editors. *Government and Higher Education Relationships Across Three Continents: The Winds of Change* (London: Pergamon, 1994).

Nyerere, Julius K. *Freedom and Socialism/Uhuru na Ujamaa* (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968).

Nyerere, Julius Kambarage. "The University's Role in the Development of the New Countries," *News on the Hill* 11 (1967), a speech delivered at the opening session of the World University Assembly, 27 June 1996, reprinted in Julius K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism/Uhuru na Ujamaa* (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 179-186.

Phillips, H. M. *Higher education, cooperation with developing countries : an analysis of the sources and amounts of funding for educational assistance and of the distribution of these monies--geographically and by level of education* (New York Rockefeller Foundation, 1976).

*Overlooked and Undervalued: A Synthesis of ERNWACA Reviews On the State of Education Research in West and Central Africa* (Washington: USAID, 1997).

Orivel, François, and Fabrice Sergent, "Foreign Aid to Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: How Useful Is It?" *Prospects* XVIII, 4(1988):459-469.

Saint, William S. *Universities in Africa: Strategies for Stabilization and Revitalization* (Washington: World Bank, 1992) [World Bank Technical Paper Number 194, Africa Technical Department Series].

Salmi, Jamil, and Adriaan Verspoor, editors. *Revitalizing Higher Education* (London: Pergamon, 1994).

Samoff, Joel. "Aid and Education—Transforming the Policy Making Process," in Birgit Brock-Utne and Tove Nagel, editors, *The Role of Aid in the Development of Education For All* (Oslo: University of Oslo, Institute for Educational Research, Report No. 8, 1996), pp. 5-72.

Samoff, Joel. "Chaos and Certainty in Development," *World Development* 24,4(April 1996):611-633.

Samoff, Joel. "Education sector analysis in Africa: limited national control and even less national ownership," *International Journal of Educational Development* 19,4-5(July-September 1999):249-272.

Samoff, Joel. "Institutionalizing International Influence" in Robert F. Arnove and Carlos Alberto Torres, editors, *Comparative Education: The Dialectic of the Global and the Local* (Boulder: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), pp. 51-89.

Samoff, Joel. "Partnerships in Education Sector Development Programmes in Burkina Faso" (Draft, Paris: UNESCO and ADEA, 1999).

Samoff, Joel. "No Teacher Guide, No Textbooks, No Chairs: Contending with Crisis in African Education," in Robert F. Arnove and Carlos Alberto Torres, editors, *Comparative Education: The Dialectic of the Global and the Local* (Boulder: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), pp. 393-431.

Samoff, Joel. "The Reconstruction of Schooling in Africa." *Comparative Education Review* 37,2(May 1993):181-222.

Samoff, Joel. "When Research Becomes Consulting" (Oxford: Oxford International Conference on Education and Development, September, 1999).

Samoff, Joel. "Which Priorities and Strategies for Education?" *International Journal of Educational Development* 16,3(July 1996):249-271.

Samoff, Joel, with N'Dri Thérèse Assié-Lumumba, *Analyses, Agendas, and Priorities in African Education: A Review of Externally Initiated, Commissioned, and Supported Studies of Education in Africa, 1990-1994* (Paris: UNESCO, for the Working Group on Education Sector Analysis, 1996).

Sawyerr, Harry. *Country-Led Aid Coordination in Ghana.* (Paris: Association for the Development of Education in Africa, 1997).

Sweden. *Partnership With Africa: Proposals for a New Swedish Policy towards Sub-Saharan Africa. Partnership Africa* (Stockholm: Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 1998).

Sweden. *The Rights of the Poor—Our Common Responsibility. Combating Poverty in Sweden's Development Cooperation* (Stockholm: Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 1997).

Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency. *Sida at Work: Sida's Methods for Development Cooperation* (Stockholm: Sida, 1997).

Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency. *Sida's Policy for Sector Programme Support and Provisional Guidelines* (Stockholm: Sida, 2000).

UNESCO. *Policy Paper for Change and Development in Higher Education* (Paris: UNESCO, 1994).

UNESCO, *World Education Report 1991* (Paris: UNESCO, 1991).

UNESCO, *World Education Report 1993* (Paris: UNESCO, 1993).

UNESCO, *World Education Report 1995* (Paris: UNESCO, 1995).

UNESCO, *World Education Report 1998: Teachers and Teaching in a Changing World* (Paris: UNESCO, 1998).

UNESCO, *World Education Report 2000: The Right to Education: Towards Education for All Throughout Life* (Paris: UNESCO, 2000).

UNESCO and United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. *The Development of Higher Education in Africa; Report of the Conference ... 3-12 September, 1962* (Paris: UNESCO, 1963).

United Nations. World Summit on Sustainable Development. *Facts About . . . Africa* (Johannesburg: 25 August–4 September 2002).

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. *Economic Report on Africa 2002: Tracking Performance and Progress* (Addis Ababa: Economic Commission for Africa, 2002). (http://www.uneca.org/era2002 [2002.08.30]).

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. *Harnessing Technologies for Sustainable Development* (Addis Ababa: Economic Commission for Africa, 2002). (http://www.uneca.org/harnessing [2002.08.30]).

Van Audenhove, Leo. *Development Co-operation in Higher Education: A Strategic Review of International Donor Policy and Practices* (Brussels: Free University Brussels, 1999).

van Vught, Frans A. "Autonomy and Accountability in Government/University Relationships," in Jamil Salmi and Adriaan M. Verspoor, editors, *Revitalizing Higher Education* (Oxford: Pergamon for IAU Press, 1994), pp. 322-362.

van Vught, Frans A. *Policy Models and Policy Instruments in Higher Education: The Effects of Governmental Policy-making on the Innovative Behaviour of Higher Education Institutions* (Wien: Institut für Hohere Studien (IHS), 1995).

Wallerstein, Immanuel. *Unthinking Social Science: The Limits of Nineteenth Century Paradigms* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991).

Wohlgemuth, Lennart. "Administering and Leading a University," in Lennart Wohlgemuth, Jerker Carlsson, and Henock Kifle, editors. *Institution Building and Leadership in Africa* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1998).

Wohlgemuth, Lennart, Jerker Carlsson, and Henock Kifle, editors. *Institution Building and Leadership in Africa* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1998).

World Bank. *Adjustment in Africa Reforms, Results, and the Road Ahead* (New York: Oxford University Press for the World Bank, 1994).

World Bank. *Assessing Aid: What Works, What Doesn't, and Why* (Washington: World Bank, 1998).

World Bank. *Priorities and Strategies for Education: A World Bank Review* (Washington: The World Bank, 1995).

World Bank. *Revival and Renewal: Reflections on the Creation of a System of Tertiary Education in Ghana* (World Bank, August 1993).

World Bank, *Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth* (Washington: World Bank, 1989).

## APPENDICES

### 1. Sources on academic partnerships between African and U.S. institutions

As we have indicated, there is no single comprehensive source on partnerships between African and U.S. institutions. As well, available sources are not entirely consistent. Even within a single institution there may be contradictory information on its own international partnerships.

Accordingly, we relied on several sources for information on partnerships between African and foreign institutions. Among those sources were recently developed online inventories of those partnerships, grants databases of funders, and web sites of the many actors including U.S. and Africa institutions, national and international funding and technical assistance agencies, and private industry. Proceedings from conferences on higher education cooperation provided an additional source of information.

#### *Online Inventories*

#### International Higher Education Linkages Project (IHELP)

Created by the Association Liaison Office (ALO), this database provides information on links between U.S. and foreign higher education institutions. The data solicited from U.S. institutions provide basic descriptive information on institutional linkages. Each record lists, among other things: the cooperating partners, a description of the project, the main funders, the amount of funding, the types of collaborative activity, and the areas of emphasis.

Some institutions provided extensive details, while others simply indicated that a memorandum of understanding exists with an African institution. While this inventory gives us some idea of the breadth of partnerships, it is a very limited source for the details of the linkages. The majority of the U.S. institutions in this database were public doctoral/research institutions. Since starting and ending dates were not included, it proved nearly impossible to distinguish active collaborations from past collaborations.

#### U.S.-SA Partnership Project

The U.S. South Africa Higher Education partnerships database provides information partnerships between U.S. and South African institutions. Since the information from this database has been discussed in detail above, we simply note it here.

#### Canadian University Projects in International Development Database (CUPID)[130]

Because our focus was on links between U.S. and African institutions, we did not use information from this database in our study. We note it here for interested readers. The CUPID

130. See http://www.aucc.ca/en/intematindex.html [2002.11.02].

database is the Canadian equivalent of the IHELP database, with more than 2,000 records on Canadian university international development projects. Most of the projects listed are funded by CIDA and multilateral development banks. Each record lists among other things: the universities involved, the project's objective, the amount of funding, and duration of the project.

### *Web Sites*

**U.S. Institutions** We thought we might find fuller descriptions of African partnerships with U.S. institutions from a survey of their web sites. The large number of U.S. institutions precluded surveying them all. Accordingly, we used several different approaches to plumb that resource. First, we considered institutions with African Studies centers, of which we identified some 45. Next we used a list of all U.S. institutions from the 2000 Carnegie Classification of U.S. higher education institutions to draw a 5% random sample of doctoral/research universities, master's colleges, and baccalaureate colleges (about 70 institutions), since we know from the IHELP inventories that these are the institutions most likely to be involved in partnerships with African universities. Available time permitted a survey of universities with African Studies Centers and a random sample of 25 of the other institutions.

Because web sites are not consistent across universities, partnership information is reported in different places. Generally, information on partnerships can be found through the web pages of African Studies Centers, the office or department responsible for international programs, and some departmental pages.

The advantage of this approach is that it can yield more information than is available in the online databases. However, this approach is very time-consuming. Even with that effort, this approach may prove quite misleading. Our experience at our own university, with a large web site and an enormous number of web pages, suggests that web sites do not capture many partnerships.

**USAID** From USAID website we obtained evaluation reports and project descriptions of the large USAID funded projects such as UDLP, TELP, HEPD, AFGRAD, and others. These reports provide an overall description of the projects, including funding information.

**African Institutions** While, we did not do a systematic sampling of African university sites, we were able to get some information on academic partnerships from some web sites.

### *Conference Proceedings*

There have been a number of conferences on higher education partnerships between the North and the South. We found descriptions of partnerships from the proceedings of the following conferences:

**Development Cooperation in Higher Education.** The Hague, 8–10 May 1985. Organizer: Nuffic.

**Institutional Links in Higher Education in Commonwealth Africa: A Pan-African Commonwealth Experts Meeting.** Harare, 23–26 June 1986. Organizer: Commonwealth Secretariat.

**Linkages Revisited: Higher education and development cooperation.** The Hague, 16-17 March 1995. Organizers: NUFFIC.

**Academic Partnerships with South Africans For Mutual Capacity Building.** East Lansing, Michigan, 18–21 October 21, 1998. Organizers: Michigan State University. Website: http://www.matrix.msu.edu/sacapacity/ [2002.11.01].

**African Partnerships USAID UDLP Higher Education Conference.** Elmina, Ghana, 8–11 February 1999. Organizer: Eastern Washington University, University of Cape Coast, Ghana. Website: http://cehd.ewu.edu/faculty/ntodd/GhanaUDLP/conference/Proceedings.html [2002.11.01].

**Title: International Higher Education and African Development.** New Haven, CT., 18–21 October 2001. Website: http://www.cis.yale.edu/ycias/ihe/history.htm [2002.10.01].

**African Universities in the 20th Century.** Urbana-Champaign, IL and Dakar, Senegal; 25–27 April 2002. Organizers: Center for African Studies and College of Education, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

## 2. External Support to Education in Africa: 1983/84–1998

**Table 2 Share of External Support (%) to Education in Africa, by Level**

| Education Category | 1983/84[a] | 1990[b] | 1995[b] | 1998[b] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Education, Level Unspecified | 21 | | 8 | 20 |
| Primary Education | 6 | 2 | 10 | 29 |
| Secondary Education | 2 | 3 | 3 | 7 |
| Higher Education | 9 | 30 | 9 | 5 |
| Vocational Training | 24 | 2 | 4 | 2 |
| Teacher Training | 7 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Advanced Tech. & Managerial Training | 10 | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| Education Facilities & Training | 7 | 17 | 27 | 2 |
| Education Policy & Admin. Management | | 44 | 35 | 25 |
| Other | 14[c] | 0 | 1 | 9 |
| Total percentage | | 100 | 101 | 100 |
| Total Support (USD 000) | | $713,234 | $756,409 | $1,501,166 |

*Note: the categories have been modified slightly to facilitate comparison.*

a 1983/84 Sub-Saharan Africa only. This column is reproduced from {Bennell and Furlong 1997}, p. 17.

b 1990-98 All Africa. Data from OECD/DAC Creditor Reporting System database for all Africa.

c Includes Non-formal training.

## 3. Africa–U.S. Academic Partnerships: Case Studies

### *Case Study I: Curriculum Co-Development with African Universities*

Focus: Use of the new information and communication technologies to foster collaborations at the departmental level between universities in Tanzania, Uganda, and the U.S.

Partners:

Tufts University (Political Science Department)
Makerere University, Uganda (Department of Political Science)
University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania (Department of Political Science and Public Administration)

With financial support from:

Tufts University
USAID Leland's Initiative
Ford Foundation

Collaborative Activities: Collaborative teaching, curriculum development

Description:

The Curriculum Co-Development (CCD) project uses information and communication technologies (ICT) to develop and implement the idea of a metacourse, which allows academics at different institutions to collaborate on teaching and curriculum development. The term metacourse refers to "two or more campus-based courses that are linked by an overarching theme, a core body of knowledge, overlapping readings, and a series of interactive web site exercises designed to involve groups of students at distant institutions in a common learning plan."[131]

In 2001, political science students at Makerere, Dar es Salaam, and Tufts University participated in a metacourse arranged around the theme of Regionalism in Africa. Three campus-based courses that proceeded at their own pace formed the metacourse on Regionalism. Instructors agreed on some overlapping readings and topics that formed the basis of discussion between students at the various campuses who interacted with each other using the Blackboard courseware software.

Despite many challenges, mainly relating to lack of adequate computer facilities, and poor Internet connections, participants at Makerere and Dar es Salaam found the virtual discussions the most "innovative and interesting" part of the project.[132] At Makerere, there are plans to expand the CCD project to the Departments of Sociology and Women and Gender.

## *Case Study II: University of Missouri South African Education Program*

Partners:

University of Missouri (UM)
University of Western Cape, South Africa (UWC)
Other South African institutions

Collaborative Activities:

Faculty exchange, collaborative research, student exchange

With Financial Support From:

University of Missouri System, USAID, and others

Description:

The University of Missouri South African Education Program started in 1986, with a faculty exchange program with the University of the Western Cape, South Africa. Signed in June 1986, this exchange agreement was the first ever between a U.S. university and a historically black South African university. UM is a large public land-grant university, with 120 international linkages project in 80 different countries.[133]

Since 1986, the faculty exchange program with South Africa has sponsored more than 300 exchange visits, involving more than 30 academic disciplines. The program was expanded in to support collaboration between UM faculty members and a broader range of South African partners, including historically disadvantaged tertiary education institutions, nongovernmental institutions, and government agencies. In 1998, the program was renamed the South African Partnerships Program. The new partnership initiative includes a student exchange component, which was started in 1997, and an expanded faculty collaboration program.

---

131. (Robinson Curriculum Co-Development with African Universities).

132. (Appuh Curriculum Co-Development); (Kiondo 2002 The Meta Course).

133. (Turner 1998 Academic partnerships).

As part of the student exchange program, The University of Missouri System awards scholarships to four UM students for study at UWC, and to four UWC students to study at UM. The Institute of International Education and the U.S. Information Agency have recognized this program at UM as a model partnership program.[134] And as part of the expanded faculty collaboration program, between 1996 and 2001 the UM System has approved projects with UM faculty and colleagues at various South African institutions, including the University of Durban-Westville, Robben Island Museum, Mayibuye Centre, University of South Africa, University of Pretoria, University of the Witwatersrand, University of Port Elizabeth, and the Research Unit of the Community Dispute Resolution Trust.[135]

### *Case Study III: Michigan State University*

Partners:

Michigan State University (MSU) and various higher education institutions, research institutes, regional associations in Africa.

With funding support from:

Multiple sources including: Ford Foundation and U.S. government agencies such as USAID and USIA.

Collaborative activities:

Collaborative research, study abroad, academic exchange, joint conferences, library support, and more.

Description:

MSU is a large public university, with a Title VI African Studies Center, with extensive links with African higher education institutions. The earliest of these links started in the late 1950s and 1960s, with MSU's involvement in the creation of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. Other historical partnerships include linkages with Addis Ababa University, University of Zimbabwe, and the Université Cheikh Anta Diop de Dakar.[136]

Currently, MSU faculty and graduate students have links with universities in Botswana, Côte d'Ivoire, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Of these, the largest institutional links are between MSU and universities in South Africa, which are part of the U.S. South Africa Higher Education Project.[137] Partnership activities between MSU and University of Dar es Salaam, with support from the Ford Foundation.

Study abroad programs in Africa at MSU include Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Senegal, South Africa, and Swaziland.

MSU also collaborates with many faculty at African universities and research institutes on a number of research programs including: Africa Internet Connectivity Project for 1997-2002, African Media Program, Afrobarometer Project, Comparative Black History Ph.D. Program, Global & Area Thematic Initiative (GATI), MSU African Diaspora Research Program, MSU Bean/Cowpea Research Program, Program on the Lakes of East Africa, USAID-MSU Food

---

134. (Turner 1998 Academic partnerships).

135. For more information, see: www.system.missouri.edu/urel/main/second/wsaep.htm.

136. For short descriptions of these partnerships, see (African Studies Center, Michigan State University 2002 Partnerships with African).

137. For detailed information on the South Africa U.S. Higher Education Project, see: (African Studies Center, Michigan State University 2002 US-South Africa Higher Education).

Security Program, Virtual Art Exhibit: Ethiopia: Traditions of Creativity, and the South Africa National Cultural Heritage Training and Technology Program.

The website of the African Studies Center at MSU contains detailed information on partnerships and other MSU projects in Africa: http://www.isp.msu.edu/AfricanStudies/asc_side.htm.

## 4. The Partnership to Strengthen African Universities[138]

In April 2000, the presidents of four foundations announced an initiative to support the improvement of higher education in Africa. The Partnership to Strengthen African Universities is a collaboration between the Carnegie Corporation of New York, The Ford Foundation, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation. The foundations have committed $100 million over 5 years to support this initiative.

Partnership activities will support, among others, universities undergoing institutional change, research on African higher education, and the creation of regional centers for research in the social sciences. The Partnership will carry out its core functions through joint grant making, individual grant making, and a common website (created in collaboration with other institutions) that will provide public information on African higher education.

Currently six African countries are the focus of Partnership activities: Uganda, Tanzania, Mozambique, South Africa, Nigeria, and Ghana. The countries were selected because they have embarked on systemic reform of their higher education system. Current Partnership funded activities include among others:

- Support for case studies of higher education systems in Uganda, Tanzania, Mozambique, and South African carried out by African researchers.
- Support for a research project on African Higher Education coordinated by the Social Science Research Council and the Association of African Universities.[139]
- Studies on Higher Education Innovations coordinated by the Working Group on Higher Education in Africa
- Conferences and workshops on higher education

138. The information in this section is from Partnership documents kindly provided by the Partnership Facilitator, Lisbeth Levy.

139. See http://www.ssrc.org/programs/africa/african_higher_education/ for more on this project.

## 5. Partnership Example: External Links of the University of the Western Cape, South Africa[140]

Faculties and departments at the University of the Western Cape have a broad range of formalized agreements with tertiary institutions and educational networks worldwide. These agreements typically include: staff exchanges; student exchanges; joint research programs; joint conferences; joint student supervision; exchange of materials and resources; and staff development and training opportunities. We list below UWC's presentation of its international links. From the web site information, we are unable to determine the level of activity in those links or their impacts on the partner institutions. We must also note, with puzzlement and chagrin, that two formal links between UWC and our own institution, Stanford University, one long-standing and both currently active, do not appear in these lists. That is further evidence of the difficulty of assembling a comprehensive picture of Africa–U.S. university partnerships.

### *University to university linkages based on memoranda of agreement*

| Country | University |
|---|---|
| United States of America | University at Buffalo<br>University of California-Los Angeles<br>Michigan State University<br>University of Missouri System (Columbia, Kansas City, Rolla, St Louis)<br>University of Oklahoma<br>Ohio University (Athens)<br>Pennsylvania State University<br>Wesleyan University |
| Belgium | Free University of Brussels<br>Gent University<br>Katholieke Universiteit Leuven |
| The Netherlands | Leiden University<br>Utrecht University |
| Sweden | Linköping University |
| France | University Aix-Marseilles |
| Ukraine | Institute of General Inorganic Chemistry of the Ukrainian Academy of Science |

140. Reproduced from: http://www.uwc.ac.za/about/default.htm.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

### *Faculty-to-faculty linkages based on memoranda of agreement*

| UWC Faculty | International partner faculty |
|---|---|
| Community and Health Sciences | Arnheim and Neijmege<br>Hogeschole, The Netherlands |
| Economic and Management Sciences | Arnheim and Neijmegen Hogeschole, The Netherlands<br>Centre for Management and Infrastructure Development at Linköping University, Sweden |
| Education | Ohio University, USA |
| Law | Utrecht University, The Netherlands<br>Howard University, USA<br>Von Humboldt University, Germany<br>University of Reunion, Reunion |
| *Religion and Theology | Stockholm School of Theology, Sweden<br>Princeton Theological Seminary, USA<br>Limuru Theological Seminary, Kenya<br>Columbia Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Georgia |
| *From 2000, the Faculty of Religion and Theology was incorporated into the Arts Faculty at UWC | |

### *Department-to-department linkages*

| Department | International partner department |
|---|---|
| Industrial Psychology | Dortmund University, Germany |
| Physics | Arizona State University, USA |
| Human Movement Studies | Institute of Sport Studies, University of Heidelberg, Germany |

### *Membership of consortia and networks*

| Network | Network members |
|---|---|
| UNITWIN Network | UWC, Utrecht University (The Netherlands), University of Namibia, University of Zimbabwe, Eduardo Mondlane University (Mozambique), Lund University (Sweden), Bochum University (Germany), University de Porto (Portugal) |
| South African Science Education Network | UWC, Vista University (Bloemfontein), University of South Africa, University of Pretoria, Flemish Inter-University Council (Belgium) |
| Southern African Consortium of Universities in Development and Environment | UWC, University of Cape Town, University of Durban-Westville, University of Natal, University of the Witwatersrand, University of Botswana |
| Africa-America Graduate School | UWC, Nairobi University of Nairobi (Kenya), Howard University (USA), Oregon State System (USA), ATLAS Graduate Deans' Committee (USA) |


BEST COPY AVAILABLE

### Funded programs and projects

| UWC programmes and projects | Funding partner |
|---|---|
| Faculty of Education | Ministry of Education, Namibia; Eritrea |
| Mathematics Education | Norwegian Universities Committee on Development Research and Communication (NUFU) |
| Zoology; Biotechnology | Royal Society |
| Thintana Project | Malaysia Telecom, Telkom, Southwest Bell |
| Various Tertiary Education Linkages Programmes (TELP) | USAID |
| Public Health Programme | NUFU |
| School of Government projects | NUFU |
| Department of Economics: Centre of Excellence | USAID |
| Zoology | France |

### Funding for staff development

UWC has agreements with the following organizations, trusts and foundations to support staff development and training: Fulbright Fellowships; Mellon Foundation Graduate Scholarships; Mellon Foundation University Fellowships; Pennsylvania State University SHARE Fellowships; South African-Netherlands Programme for Alternatives in Development (SANPAD); and Wellcome Trust.

### Linkages with non-governmental organizations

The UWC Botany Department houses a branch of the International Ocean Institute, a non-governmental organization with headquarters in Malta. The International Ocean Institute/Southern Africa focuses on marine science research and training in the sub-region.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

## 6. Guidelines for Academic Partnerships

Concerned about the potentially negative consequences of academic partnerships, some U.S. institutions have considered explicit guidelines for those relationships. Michigan State University's current guidelines are especially clear. Note that those guidelines impose significant obligations on the U.S. institutions, including committing their own funds and avoiding reliance on external support.

### *Michigan State University: Guidelines of Best Practices for Partnerships between Tertiary Institutions in Africa and their Foreign Partners*[141]

1. Clarity about goals - As they enter a partnership, the participants seek to be clear about their goals, personal and institutional, and about what they bring to the collaboration and want to receive from it. These goals should be shared openly with each other early in the relationship.

2. Consortial linkages - Where possible, the partners work through consortial arrangements with multiple universities in order to maximize the efficiencies in using resources and to encourage widened collaboration within Africa and between African and other foreign partners.

3. Understand each other - Partners work seriously to learn about the other institution, its constraints, strengths, and limitations, and to acquaint the partner with their own institution.

4. Provide internal funding - The partner institutions commit some of their own funds to the relationship, not relying only on external support. The partners are innovative in seeking to direct institutional resources to the partnership, such as through asymmetrical study abroad programs that bring African post-graduates to study in foreign institutions in exchange for foreign undergraduates studying in Africa.

5. Build for the long-term - Partner institutions expect to develop a long-term relationship of at least five to ten years so that knowledge about each other and mutually beneficial collaboration can develop, deepen, and broaden.

6. Broad support - The partnership has the support and commitment of both the relevant faculty and the administrative leaders of the partner institutions.

7. Joint decision-making - As they develop an agreement, partners will seek to concur on methods for decision-making, which activities are to be pursued, and what resources will be used. This requires carefully listening to each other and a willingness to seek understandings and consensus around mutually acceptable resolutions of inevitable differences of judgments and perceptions.

8. Written agreement - After these goals are understood, a written agreement is developed that describes the purposes and goals of the partnership, the resources that each institution brings to the partnership, methods of seeking external funding, means of documenting progress of the relationship, and a method of periodic evaluation. The agreement is not to be considered a legal and financial contract but a statement of commitment and intent.

9. Transparency on funding - On issues of funding, there is transparency in the sources, amounts, requirements governing, and all intended uses of funds obtained in the names of

141. Available at: http://www.isp.msu.edu/AfricanStudies/Guide.htm [2002.11.01]. For additional resources on Best Practices in Higher Education Partnerships, see: http://www.isp.msu.edu/USSA/BestPractices.html

the partners, including any representations made to potential funders. Neither partner will be engaged in covert or secret research or operations in the project. Transparency requires sharing the expectations of both the donor and the users to address problems that may arise around different customs and institutional regulations in using and accounting for the expenditure of funds.

10. Addressing inequality of resources - In allotting funding, the partners take into account the unequal resources that are available to the partner institutions and their individual faculty members. In seeking to build a relationship of inclusivity and equity, the partnerships adhere to a policy of equal opportunity for all regardless of race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, age, or sexual orientation.

11. Transparency on issues of power - The partners seek to be transparent about the differing roles of leaders and stakeholders and the differing authority and power in the relationship. They usually will document and share these understandings to facilitate communication and to clarify responsibilities. This information will be shared with all participating personnel.

12. Constancy of goals - In the event that there are changes in the institutional leadership of one of the partners, every effort will be made to honor the original goals and activities of the partners as established in the original agreement and subsequent negotiations.

13. Addressing conflict - If conflict develops, the core leadership team will be alerted and they will meet and communicate to address the concerns and to re-establish a productive working relationship among the partners.

14. Ethical and human subjects guidelines - In partnerships involving research, the most stringent human subjects standards and ethics will apply, such as in the human subjects regulations and the Ethical Guidelines of the MSU African Studies Center, African Studies Association, American Anthropological Association, American Sociological Association, and the many other professional associations with statements of ethics http://www.ethics.ubc.ca/resources/professional/.

15. Acknowledging contributions - The partners work to create some mutually agreed upon language to credit and acknowledge everyone's contributions, including the sources of project funding. This will be used in printed and electronic announcements.

16. Celebrating partnerships - The partners will find occasions to celebrate the successes of their partnership.

As the Michigan State University Guidelines indicate, professional associations have also developed relevant guidelines. Among others, the African Studies Association has focused particular attention on the ethics of undertaking research and other projects in Africa.

### *Guidelines of the African Studies Association for Ethical Conduct in Research and Projects in Africa*[142]

1. **Do No Harm**

When conducting research or pursuing professional activities in Africa, members of the Association shall seek to be conscious of and to minimize the potential risks in the present and future which their research may pose for those who participate or are being studied. Responsible conduct necessitates that the researcher be well-informed about the wider political, cultural,

142. Reproduced from http://www.africanstudies.org/asa_guidelines.htm [2002.11.01].

economic, religious, and social contexts of the research in order to ensure that the research will not put collaborators, research subjects, students, or assistants at risk of any kind.

Researchers should respect the integrity, morality, and traditions of the people they study. Researchers should commit themselves to the most ethical practices in the conduct of responsible research and, as far as possible, to respect prevailing local practices of hiring, training, and using assistants and subjects. Researchers also commit themselves to pursue non-discriminatory practices whenever possible.

2. **Open and Full Disclosure of Objectives, Sources of Funding, Methods, and Anticipated Outcomes**

Members of the Association are committed to open and full disclosure of the research to all cooperating African colleagues and institutions, all graduate and field assistants, and the subjects we study. Each of these should have full access to the objectives of the research, the sources of funding, the methods to be employed, and the anticipated outcomes of the research.

Because the findings of our research or recommendations drawn from it may affect the interests of the peoples and communities we study, members of the Association should be conscious of the potential uses and abuses of the research data, the interests of the sponsors and funders of the research, as well as any third parties who may have access to the findings or data.

When we engage in research in Africa, we shall notify our African colleagues of the sponsors, funders, and potential uses intended for the information to be collected. We shall not engage in any research which we know or believe to be funded secretly, is likely to be used for covert purposes, or to have potentially negative consequences for our colleagues. We shall make every effort to keep all of our research, instructional, and service activities free of sponsorship, direct funding, or secret uses by military and intelligence agencies of all governments. We shall not knowingly engage or participate in projects which could be reasonably construed as sustaining or strengthening the powers of political leaders or states guilty of violations of human rights. Furthermore, we are committed to keeping in the public domain all research and publications completed under sponsorship of any government.

3. **Informed Consent and Confidentiality**

We shall seek to obtain the fully voluntary and informed consent of all the people participating in our research before any research is undertaken. Researchers should develop instruments of informed consent that are appropriate to the cultural context of the research. Such instruments should not only inform the subjects of the nature of the research and its potential risks, but also should provide guarantee to subjects that if they wish, their confidentiality will be fully respected. Researchers should be cognizant of the real difficulties of securing informed consent in contexts of uneven power relations and should develop strategies or techniques for ensuring fully informed consent.

4. **Reciprocity and Equity**

Members of the Association have a responsibility to support and encourage the professional activities of African collaborators and colleagues and, when appropriate, to build collaborative research and programs with them. Our research should build the capacity of our collaborators and their institutions of research and higher education through programs of training and professional development.

All researchers engaged in collaborative research should explain fully the nature of such collaboration, including issues of authorship, access to data collected, intellectual property rights, rights to inventions and copyrights with African colleagues, professionals, and graduate students.

5. **Deposition of Data and Publications**

Researchers should return the results of scholarly activities to the communities and the country in which the research was conducted, including preliminary reports, papers, dissertations, and all forms of publication. Copies of all findings and publications should be provided to African colleagues and institutions with whom they have cooperated or established affiliations. The communities studied or engaged in the research should receive at least a summary of the research and its findings in a form and language they can understand.

Eventually and to the extent feasible, the researcher also should return copies of primary data sets and relevant notes to a responsible archive or depository in the country of research so that the data and materials can be made available to indigenous researchers. In both the research reports and the data sets, the identities of the persons who provided information should be kept confidential and disguised unless they have given permission for their identities and the information offered to be revealed. When scholars publish their data, they should make every effort to see that their publications are not exploited for inordinate profit and that they are made available to scholars, libraries, and higher education institutions in Africa at charges that are reasonable in that country.

HE036243

U.S. Department of Education
Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI)
National Library of Education (NLE)
Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC)
ERIC REPRODUCTION RELEASE

I. Document Identification:

Title:
Continuities of Dependence: External Support to Higher Education in Africa

Author:
Joel Samoff and Bidemi Carrol

Corporate Source:

Publication Date:
2003.03.07

II. Reproduction Release:

In order to disseminate as widely as possible timely and significant materials of interest to the educational community, documents announced in the monthly abstract journal of the ERIC system, Resources in Education (RIE), are usually made available to users in microfiche, reproduced paper copy, and electronic media, and sold through the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). Credit is given to the source of each document, and, if reproduction release is granted, one of the following notices is affixed to the document.

If permission is granted to reproduce and disseminate the identified document, please check one of the following three options and sign the release form.

✔ Level 1 - Permitting reproduction and dissemination in microfiche or other ERIC archival media (e.g. electronic) and paper copy.

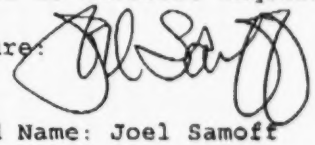
Level 2A - Permitting reproduction and dissemination in microfiche and in electronic media for ERIC archival collection subscribers only.

Level 2B - Permitting reproduction and dissemination in microfiche only.

Documents will be processed as indicated provided reproduction quality permits. If permission to reproduce is granted, but no box is checked, documents will be processed at Level 1.

Sign Here: "I hereby grant to the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) nonexclusive permission to reproduce and disseminate this document as indicated above. Reproduction from the ERIC

microfiche or electronic media by persons other than ERIC employees and its system contractors requires permission from the copyright holder. Exception is made for non-profit reproduction by libraries and other service agencies to satisfy information needs of educators in response to discrete inquiries."

Signature: 

Position: Professor

Printed Name: Joel Samoff

Organization: Stanford University

Address:
3527 South Court
Palo Alto, CA 94306

Telephone No:
650.856-2326

Date: 2003.09.20

III. Document Availability Information (from Non-ERIC Source):

If permission to reproduce is not granted to ERIC, or, if you wish ERIC to cite the availability of the document from another source, please provide the following information regarding the availability of the document. (ERIC will not announce a document unless it is publicly available, and a dependable source can be specified. Contributors should also be aware that ERIC selection criteria are significantly more stringent for documents that cannot be made available through EDRS.)

Publisher/Distributor:

Address:

Price per copy: Quantity price:

IV. Referral of ERIC to Copyright/Reproduction Rights Holder:

If the right to grant this reproduction release is held by someone other than the addressee, please complete the following:

Name:

Address:

V. Attach this form to the document being submitted and send both to:

Robert Hagerman, Acquisitions Coordinator
ERIC Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools
P.O. Box 1348
1031 Quarrier Street
Charleston, WV 25325-1348

Phone and electronic mail numbers:

800/624-9120 (Clearinghouse toll-free number)
304/347-0487 (Clearinghouse FAX number)
mitchelv@ael.org